

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE IMMERSION EDUCATION:
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESOURCES FOR TE KOHANGA REO
AND PŪNANA LEO

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We certify that we have read this plan B and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a plan B for the degree of Master of Arts in Pacific Island Studies.

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Sources and scope of bibliography

This annotated bibliography covers materials that address and provide information regarding the indigenous language education programs Te Kohanga Reo in Aotearoa-New Zealand, Pūnana Leo in Hawai‘i, as well as information on Tahitian language use. The sources searched and utilized to assemble the bibliography included the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Library's Hawai‘i Voyager Library Catalog and Electronic Resources, East-West Center library known as Research Information Services, New Zealand catalog, and the internet primarily through www.google.com. Included are articles, books, chapters, newsletters, and other materials.

The primary resources were databases accessed through the electronic resources from the Library's website. Academic Search Premier through EBSCOHost and the various ERIC databases (ERIC via CSA Illumina, EBSCOHost, and US DOE) were two databases heavily searched for resources about indigenous language education and immersion. There were full-text articles and citations with abstracts that were accessible from both databases. For citations that did not provide the complete articles, I was able to acquire copies through interlibrary loan and some were found through an internet search. Other articles were retrieved through journals that were found in the Hamilton, Hawaiian, and Pacific Collections at the Library from searches in the online catalog. Additional articles were found through the Hawai‘i Pacific Journal Index database.

For books and other printed resources such as studies or statistics, I searched through the Hawai‘i Voyager Library Catalog. There were numerous books and reprints of articles that focused on the immersion schools and programs as well as education. In

the Library catalog there were resources for studies and reports on the Māori Te Kōhanga Reo and Hawaiian Pūnana Leo programs.

In order to gather as many resources as possible, there were a number of search terms that were used and combined with others. Some of the terms included: PUNANA LEO, KOHANGA REO, MAORI, LANGUAGE EDUCATION, IMMERSION EDUCATION, HAWAIIAN IMMERSION, EDUCATION, HAWAII, NEW ZEALAND, MAORI LANGUAGE, MAORI IMMERSION, HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE and so forth. When searching the internet and databases, the same search terms and various combinations were used. However, searching and results also led to addressing the issue of bilingualism for language immersion students and not just questioning the success or failure of the immersion programs or the education of the students.

Introduction

Language assimilation was an important component of the colonization process, as it forced the indigenous people to basically abandon their native tongue for the colonizer's language that corresponded to the colonizing power. By reason of being "civilized," Western colonizers assumed a superior, all-knowing disposition toward the indigenous people, rather than being guests on foreign land. In order to maintain this new Western hierarchy, it was in the foreigners' best interest and assurances to have the indigenous people adapt and learn the colonial language that better suited outside powers and their agenda for changes and to gain control. Both the schools and educational systems were the primary agencies for disseminating the colonial culture and language, which aimed to acculturate the people into a wider mainstream Western society. The shift away from the indigenous languages toward the colonial language altered much of the language demographics in addition to its overall utilization.

Settlement patterns and geographic diversity are factors that played a role in the evolution of languages and their respective dialects. Linguistic evolution parallels the geographic migration of colonizing populations as they moved across the Pacific at varying intervals. In addition, there are numerous pidgin and Creole languages that have developed due to Western contact and the need for two sides to communicate with one another. These pidgin and Creole languages, such as the Melanesian Pidgin, have evolved into a definite language that "...large numbers of people came to rely on...more and more in their daily lives... [which] many of them speak it as their first and sometimes only language..." (Mugler and Lynch 1996). Extensive contact with Western colonizers

and missionaries changed many indigenous languages in the Pacific. In some areas, the indigenous languages were given a certain amount of regard and some official status, but were not really a part of government or official operations of the territory. The colonial language became a vehicle of social, economic, political, and educational mobility. The more prevalent modernization became and gained a foothold in many of the Pacific island nations, the more the indigenous political and educational systems were displaced and colonizers imposed their power and control in those aspects. Although the local governments were given some autonomy for a short time, colonizers established the Western model of government and held much of the authority in decision making and overall power of the colony. France Mugler and John Lynch note that “the metropolitan - i.e. the former colonial languages - give much greater regional and international access than does any Pacific language” (Mugler and Lynch 1996).

As a result of foreigner arrivals to the island nations in the Pacific, colonial languages such as English and French spread rapidly and became very widespread throughout Aotearoa-New Zealand, Hawai‘i, and Tahiti. While colonialists gained more power, both politically and economically, the more influential they were and the more significant were the effects of language colonization on the indigenous languages. According to Mugler and Lynch, language of the colonizers became the language of power and a means of advancement in political and social status. Colonization of the Pacific corrupted the way of life and endangered the survival of many indigenous Pacific languages. For indigenous people of the Pacific, language was the foundation of their oral tradition of using language in order to pass down information to the next generation as well as future generations. It was a way in which indigenous people recorded their

history, culture, genealogy, traditions, and knowledge that would survive from generation to generation. Language colonization changed the way indigenous people educated their children and succeeding generations regarding the aforementioned information and knowledge. The move away from indigenous languages toward the Western colonial languages as a means of conducting business and general communication severely altered how the government was administered and how children were educated. The impact on the indigenous languages of the Pacific were substantial enough that many indigenous languages like Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawaiian in Hawai‘i were just as endangered as native plants and animals and wavered on the brink of extinction in its overall use in addition to education of children.

Due to enforcement by colonial powers to have indigenous children be educated in the colonial language of English, there was a decline and loss of native speakers of indigenous languages that would continue in to the succeeding generations. There were less or no native speakers in the younger generations of students and adults speaking their indigenous languages at home or at school. As children and students, in what became a very Western system of education, the generation of elders who were native speakers was punished for speaking their indigenous language in school and was compelled to believe that speaking English was imperative. Indigenous people were strongly encouraged to learn, speak, read, and write only English to assure greater assimilation to British and American culture. It would be a familiar phenomenon that occurred throughout the Pacific under colonizers like Spain, Germany, Japan, Australia, Britain, the United States, and France who occupied and controlled Pacific island nations at one time or another and enforced the utilization of their languages on the people they colonized. This was evident

in the education and schooling system instituted by Western government officials and businesses that only employed the colonial language. The indigenous elders who spoke Māori or Hawaiian to each other did not speak or teach their children and grandchildren their indigenous languages because they were made to believe that it would impede their success and advancement in what was quickly becoming a very Western society of economics and politics.

While indigenous people of Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai'i were restricted from speaking their indigenous languages of Māori and Hawaiian respectively, little could be done to completely control or implement the use of English especially in the rural areas as opposed to the centers of business and governing towns. Preservation of almost all indigenous Pacific languages can be attributed to the arrival of Christian missionaries in the Pacific. Although the purpose of their mission in the Pacific islands was primarily religious conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity, they are the ones who recognized how advantageous the use of the indigenous peoples own languages could be in working to fulfill their goals.

The missionaries' preference for using the indigenous languages in their teaching and preaching of Christianity "...so as to better to reach the hearts and minds of the people..." helped in the acceleration of religious conversion (Mugler and Lynch 1996). Whereas the missionaries viewed the indigenous languages as an aid in religious conversion from native religions to Christianity, the colonial administrators perceived the indigenous languages as hindrances for what they wanted to accomplish. Consequently, there was a shift away from the Pacific way of educating countless generations over a span of hundreds of years as previously mentioned to a very formal book style schooling

of the Western world. Many parents doggedly abandoned speaking and teaching their children in their indigenous languages and chose to utilize whatever minute knowledge they had of the colonial language in hopes of providing them with better access and opportunities to education and Western advancements. For example, the choice of parents to only speak French to their children, as in the case of Tahiti, was made based on the assumption that the children would “naturally” speak Tahitian with their playmates and therefore they would learn the language (Levy 1970). This was not an uncommon occurrence in the main ports of Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai‘i or other island nations. From the time that Western colonization arrived in the Pacific, the role of indigenous languages, which occupied the lands for hundreds of years prior, ultimately changed. This conversion away from traditional culture and language, which included the abandonment of indigenous languages, changed the way in which indigenous Pacific islanders educated their children; nevertheless it would later lay the groundwork for language revitalization.

Education in the Pacific: a shift towards Western education

Knowledge was passed down from one generation to another through watching, listening, and doing as skilled and knowledgeable elders showed or instructed children or apprentices. This was the educational system of the Pacific. The acceptance for formal Western education was welcomed in many Pacific Islands societies for the reasons of opportunities and various advancements as previously indicated. Colonial administrations established Western educational systems that greatly differed from traditional education of oral teaching and learning that was continuously performed

throughout the Pacific during the hundreds of years of settlement. Indigenous languages have always been the foundation for the transmission of history, genealogies, religion, myths and legends, occupations, values, practices, culture, and overall knowledge of society for generations prior to Western arrival and colonization.

Traditional education in the Pacific never consisted of a formal classroom enclosed within four walls, a teacher lecturing at the front of the room, nor pens and paper. Instead, the entire surroundings and the communities of extended families became the classroom and teachers. The formats of instruction were far from direct lecturing, as it is in many contemporary classrooms. Rather, successful instruction of a skill or knowledge being taught to students or apprentices at the time or the above aforementioned cultural traits and traditions depended largely on oral transmissions of knowledge. Instruction by the trade experts who carefully selected the apprentices to whom they would entrust their knowledge was conducted in their indigenous languages. In turn, students were expected to listen, observe, and understand without speaking or asking questions, but rather by doing what they were taught. Although it appears to be quite a simplistic method of education, it worked well and was quite effective for their needs. However, Western colonization altered this traditional form of education by moving away from the community based traditional education.

Missionaries were at the forefront of the movement in establishing Western style schools for the purpose of civilizing the indigenous people. Successful religious conversion depended greatly on the utilization of each respective indigenous language in civilizing the populace and teaching Christianity. The Bible and hymn books were translated into the indigenous languages and promoted literacy. The church services

were performed in the indigenous language rather than the Western language. This accounts for “. . . pastors and Protestant reverends [having] the reputation for speaking Tahitian the best,” (Coppentrath 1975). The church evolved into an excellent place for people to go to learn how to read in their own languages and to extend their knowledge of their ancestral language, but more importantly to learn to speak the language with elegance and impeccable clarity. In further encouragement of literacy and civilization through religious conversion, indigenous people were recruited to become missionaries and ministers to spread the word of God and Christianity in their own communities and abroad. Therefore, colonial administrations were able to gain greater control. As colonial influence increased, Western education became more established and desired throughout the Pacific. The transformation into the Western world gradually caused the erosion and collapse of many traditional practices and use of the indigenous languages.

English and French colonial languages are the two main colonial languages that have dominated the Pacific region. Prohibition of the use of indigenous languages in overseas colonies under Britain, the United States and France caused Hawaiian, Māori, and Tahitian to suffer great decline. Consequently, language oppression was the foremost factor in the deterioration of traditional education. Language colonization was one of the many forms of suppression of indigenous people and caused some of the greatest damage. Nevertheless, recent efforts have been made to reverse the effects of indigenous language prohibition and decline in the number of native speakers.

Establishment of Māori and Hawaiian language immersion schools

As the colonial government and administrators became more influential in the Pacific islands, the indigenous languages gave way to colonial languages as is the case in education. Endangerment of losing their indigenous languages for further generations distressed the indigenous people. The indigenous Māori of Aotearoa-New Zealand started the formation of indigenous language immersion schools. This program and educational school system later became the model through which native Hawaiians established their own immersion schools. Thus far, the success of these indigenous language immersion schools and their students is not fully known due to the relatively short time the program has been in place. However, whatever success the program has achieved so far can stand as a model for other indigenous Pacific languages. Whether such a program and education system is viable or desired by other Pacific islanders remains in their hands. Perhaps it would be better to first understand the how modern language immersion schools came to be.

The 1867 Native Schools Act in Aotearoa-New Zealand is part of the foundation of the Māori language immersion program, which began approximately twenty years ago. This Act called for the “. . . formal replacement of mission schools and Māori language teaching by State [funding the] secular schools based on the English village day-schools where teaching was in English, and the curriculum was that of ordinary English primary level schools of England,” (Hohepa 1984). It would not be until the early 1980s that the indigenous Māori of Aotearoa-New Zealand established Te Kōhanga Reo Māori language immersion program as a responsive resolution for the survival of the Māori

language and against the shift toward English language based Western education.

Although some communities resisted the formal Western style education, which was taught in English, there were often others who readily accepted this system of schooling as a natural process because it was believed that the language of the pākeha should be learned in school and the community around it (Benton 1996). World War II brought urbanization to many developing countries and island nations which attracted more and more of Māori people away from the marae in the rural districts. This contributed to the drop in the number of indigenous Māori who were able to speak Māori since those who had migrated to the urban centers were unable to establish Māori speaking communities and to speak the language. Moreover, adults as well as students who did speak the Māori language were discouraged from speaking it by the government and teachers in the schools who would punish students caught speaking Māori (Hohepa 1984). The Māori culture and language consequently suffered low esteem and remained absent from a substantial part of education in the twentieth century in New Zealand.

In 1982, one year after its conception, the first Kōhanga Reo immersion school opened. Yet, only after the recognition of the Rūātoki School in the Bay of Plenty through official designation as a bilingual school six years prior in 1976 was Māori taken into consideration as the language of instruction (Benton 1996). Emphasis on the indigenous language as the medium of instruction intended to reverse the downhill slide of the language, the number of native speakers, and the cultural significance for Māori existence. Through the immersion program, there was a revitalization of traditional oral transmission of knowledge as well as every day use from one generation to another utilizing the indigenous language of the Māori. The foundation of the family or group

that live within the marae once again emerged through the formation of the immersion schools. This has allowed more Māori children success in their schooling, ability to live within both the Māori and pākeha worlds, and also a sense of cultural pride and identity. What the program and the students have accomplished so far is relatively successful and has surpassed the initial hopes of the Māori language immersion developers.

According to Richard Benton, there have been a steady number of schools that were re-designated as bilingual schools or the like with approximately five schools being approved per year. Aside from the indigenous people taking control of what they need and want, the most important historical factors are claims made under the Treaty of Waitangi that states that the Crown had an obligation to protect the language as a treasure. The 1986 result of complaints regarding the status of the Māori language by claimants to the Waitangi Tribunal board in fact found in favor of the Māori organization. The Tribunal called for the Crown to take action on the recommendations that the Tribunal had made in reference to the indigenous language of New Zealand. The colonial government rectified the situation on at least some of the recommendations with the passage of the Māori Language Act of 1987. Further promotion of the language included schools and education with Māori as the medium of instruction or with Māori included in the curriculum.

No official language policy exists with regard to goals and strategies on how to accomplish those goals under the government nor has a ministry of language policy been established. Progress of the Māori language, in some respect, has been slow, yet progressively successful in education, schools, acceptance and unseen personal pride and accomplishment. The success of the Kōhanga Reo Māori language immersion program

has met and exceeded the initial goals of increasing the number of native Māori speakers and once again educating the next generations of Māori through the Māori language.

At another point in the Polynesian triangle, the indigenous people of Hawai‘i and the Hawaiian language lost much more. The quantity of language lost was quite significant when Western colonization arrived on the shores of Hawai‘i. In an effort to preserve what little remained and to reverse the effect of language deterioration that Hawai‘i had been experiencing for many years, people in the Hawaiian community looked to the Māori language immersion program for guidance. The accomplishments of the Māori language immersion program inspired the Hawaiian community of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo to develop the Pūnana Leo Hawaiian immersion school and program based on the Māori model.

The impact of colonialism in Hawai‘i caused a great deal of damage to every aspect of Hawaiian culture, language, and traditions. more so than in many of the other Pacific islands. Whereas a majority of the indigenous people had their native languages oppressed in various ways, there was not an official prohibition against the indigenous languages. It was the people themselves who consciously decided to make the effort to learn the language of the colonizers and their Western ways that would afford them opportunities in the Western world for further advancement. In contrast, the history of Hawai‘i and the Hawaiian language status was quite extreme as compared to other Pacific languages. Generally, many Pacific islanders saw indigenous languages as a vital part in the lives of the people and continued to use it as before, after and during the colonial administration to a certain extent. Unfortunately, Hawai‘i cannot boast such a

history because for a language that was used in the government and in instruction in the school system up to the late 1800s, it was later prohibited from being spoken by the Republic of Hawai'i government led by Sanford B. Dole. The use of Hawaiian had reached the churches, the people of different ethnic groups, legislature, government and so forth was no longer permitted which would assure that assimilation into the Western ways as a smooth transition leading to annexation. A hundred years passed before the Hawaiian language was officially recognized as an official language alongside English in 1978.

Nevertheless, the official recognition did not change the suppression that could still be felt because there were people outside and within the Hawaiian community who did not approve of the support that was being shown for the Hawaiian language. As the Hawaiian renaissance got under way in the late 1970s, the traditional navigation methods, traditions, culture, and the language were aspects of the Hawaiian culture that were beginning to be revitalized in many ways. Years of language suppression were altered when there was renewed interest in the aforementioned cultural practices and especially in the language, which found the Hawaiian language immersion program as one of the most important steps to be taken. The immersion program became the future for the survival of the Hawaiian language and ensured that there would be an increase in the number of native speakers hopeful that the language would be protected from the fate of extinction that it once faced.

Other than the declaration that acknowledges the Hawaiian language as an official language, there is no other formal policy in regards to the language. The 'Aha Pūnana Leo group is responsible for the planning of the program, format and curriculum that

meets the equivalent standards of public schools where English is the medium of instruction. Since the beginning of the Hawaiian language immersion program in 1984, there has been tremendous criticism and included in that group of critics were educators themselves. Critics of the program concentrated their efforts on the negative effect that being educated in only the Hawaiian language would have on the lives of the students and their possible inability to function outside of the Hawaiian language immersion school environment in an English speaking society. However, criticisms that the programs received have not deterred the efforts of the Hawaiian community to continue support and further expand the Hawaiian immersion program.

There is an unexpected and remarkable parallel of events between Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai'i in regard to their indigenous languages. What transpired in both island nations to the indigenous people concerning and their languages can be attributed to British and American imperialism when they colonized Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai'i, respectively. The lasting effects of their influence continue to be felt and fought everyday through education and subsequent creation and establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo and Pūnana Leo. The following list chronicles the parallel experiences of Māori and Hawaiian languages that were traumatized by British and American colonizers.

Aotearoa New Zealand – Māori

AD 1000	Settlement of New Zealand.
Next 1000 years	Several mutually intelligible dialects of Māori developed throughout the country.
1642	Initial contact by Europeans-arrival of Abel Tasman.
Late 1700s	Several voyages by James Cook to New Zealand; Māori population-approximately 100,000.
1800 on	European whalers, sealers, missionaries begin to arrive; Māori was the language of trade and exchange of ideas between the two cultures.
1830's	Teaching of reading and writing in Māori at the mission schools reached its peak.
1840	Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; Māori is the predominant language.
1840s on	Arrival of more English settlers; establishment of a colonial government and infrastructure; Māori remained the language of communication.
1842	First Māori language newspaper is published.

Hawai'i - Hawaiian

1778	Hawaiian population estimated to be 800,000.
1820	American missionaries arrive.
1826	Basic Hawaiian orthography developed, which provided literacy to adults and children via missionary schools.
1830	85,000 Hawaiians were literate.
1839	First English medium school, Royal School, founded for children of the Hawaiian royal family.
1840	Kamehameha III established a constitutional monarchy at the time Hawaiian was the primary language of government and provided for the first government funded public schools or common schools.
1848	Great Māhele – division of land; Hawaiians shift from self-sufficiency to a cash economy.
	99% of 631 common schools were taught through the medium of the Hawaiian language.

1850s	Pākeha population surpasses the Māori population and Māori becomes a minority language.	1850	Literacy among Hawaiians said to be universal.
1854-1937	2,084 letters written by Māori and government officials.	1854	English was first introduced in government-funded schools.
1858	Census recorded a total Māori population of 56,000—until just before the turn of the century and introduction of Western diseases and warfare reduced the Māori population to 42,000.		Missionaries, long supporters and Hawaiian for Hawaiians, began to advocate that Hawaiians [should] learn English to deal with the outside world.
1867	Native Schools Act: Made English the language of literacy in schools—the Māori language was virtually outlawed in schools; many Māori school children over the succeeding generations were punished for speaking the language of their home.	1860 to end of century	Hawaiian language newspaper flourished.
		1870s	Official government documents written in English and translated to Hawaiian.
1885	Accelerated decrease in the use of Māori language.	1878	Only 47,500 Hawaiians still remained.
1900	Māori still the language of the home and community with an estimated 45,000 Māori being speakers of the Māori language.	1893	Overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani and the Hawaiian Kingdom.
1905	More letters were being written in English than Māori.		The Republic of Hawai‘i mandated that English was to be the medium of instruction in schools; required all oralcy and literacy be in English.
1913	99% of Māori school children native speakers.	1898	Annexation of Hawai‘i.

1920	Sir Apirana Ngata urges Māori communities to continue using Māori language in the home, while also promoting English language education for Māori in school.	1900	Organic Act signed into law and mandated that all government business be conducted in English.
1930s	Depression cause language shift from Māori to English at home and in various communities but still predominant.		Organic Act and subsequent laws of the U.S. Territory of Hawai‘i required that English only be the medium of instruction for not less than 50% of the school day.
1940s	Urban drift, introduction of television.	Early 1900s	Although Hawaiians began to relinquish the Hawaiian language in the early 1900s, they did not acquire English as their first language.
Since 1945	Māori taught in secondary schools.	1950s	A major dictionary of 30,000 words was completed by Mary Kawena Pūku‘i and Dr. Samuel Elbert.
1950s	Māori families living in predominantly Pākeha suburbs which affect the use of Māori language.	1959	Hawai‘i becomes the 50 th state in the United States of America.
Since 1951	Māori taught at the university.	Late 1960	Cultural revolution occurred amongst young Hawaiians—primarily through Hawaiian music and dance that focused on traditional Hawaiian music, songs and dance that led to the Hawaiian renaissance in Hawaiian language and culture.
1961	The Hunn report describes Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life.		
1970s	Māori was used more on the marae and at church. May Māori language initiatives developed.	1978	Constitutional Convention: Hawaiian language designated as one of the two—English being the other one—official language—for the State that resulted in a State mandate to promote Hawaiian language,

1975	Ngāti Raukawa tribal confederation launched Whakatipuranga Rua Mano – a tribal development program that emphasized Māori language revitalization.		culture and history. A separate law designated Hawaiian as the official native language of the State of Hawaii.
Mid 1970s	About 70,000 fluent speakers of Māori – only 18-20% of the Māori population and they were 50 years old and older.	Late 1970s	Height of Hawaiian renaissance - especially at the University of Hawaii. Resulted in more interest in Hawaiian language and Hawaiian language classes being offered. It produced second language speakers who would become Hawaiian language educators.
1977	First bilingual school opened at Rūātoki in the Bay of Plenty.	1982	Awareness that for Hawaiians to survive as living language, there has to be a generation of native Hawaiian speakers.
Late 1970s	Te Ātaarangi movement developed by Katerina Mātaira and Ngōi Pēwhairangi focused on language development for adults to learn Māori using the “silent method” with Māori as the language of instruction.	1983	‘Aha Pūnana Leo, a nonprofit educational organization, was established by Hawaiian language educators.
1979 on	Department of Māori Affairs holds yearly meetings. At one of these meetings, the inception of Te Kōhanga Reo is born.	1984	September 4 – the first Pūnana Leo center opened on Kekaha, Kaua‘i by ‘Aha Pūnana Leo.
Early 1980s	Te Kōhanga Reo was launched followed by Kura Kaupapa Māori.	1985	April 2 – two more Pūnana Leo schools opened in Hilo, Hawaii and Kalihi, Oahu.
1981	Te Wānanga o Raukawa, a university, was established in Ōtaki to provide degree courses in management and Māori language.	1987	Proclaimed the year of the Hawaiian.

1981	Hu Whakatauirā meeting held and the concept and name of Kōhanga Reo was developed.		Kula Kaiapuni implemented by State of Hawai‘i Department of Education as a pilot program at the request of the Hawaiian community, parents and teachers.
1981	First Kōhanga Reo began at Pukeatua.		September 4 – A pilot program for kindergartners and first graders start at two sites, Waiau Elementary, O‘ahu and Keaukaha Elementary, Hawai‘i.
1982	Kōhanga Reo National Trust was established and formalized as a charitable trust in 1983.	1989	Board of Education approved the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program as a limited K-6 program with transition to English during the upper elementary grades.
March 1982	The first Kōhanga Reo officially opened in Wellington with funding from the Department of Māori Affairs.	1990	Board of Education approved the delay of formal English instruction to grade 5.
1985	Successful claim to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning the Māori language resulted in some radio frequencies being set aside for Māori use with government funding made available for the development and delivery of iwi (tribal) stations. The first Kura Kaupapa Māori began in Auckland alongside a Kōhanga Reo on Hoani Waititi marae.	1992	February – Board of Education approve of the motions to (1) provide 1 hour of English instruction per day or grade 6 classes; (2) extending the program to grades 7 and 8 for 1993 and 1994; (3) provide 1 hour of English instruction per day for grades 7 and 8; (4) extend the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program from kindergarten through grade 12 at two sites—one on Oahu and one on Hawai‘i.
1986	First radio station set up for iwi stations.		September – Board of Education approve the

By 1987	There were nine bilingual schools established.		extension of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program to grade 12 with 1 hour of English instruction per day at each grade level beginning at grade 5.
1987	Māori Language Act—made Māori an official language of New Zealand and established rules for its limited use in courts.	1993	Only six Pūnana Leo opened versus 600+ Kōhanga Reo Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand that were already established.
1987	The Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri Te Reo Māori) with one of its functions being advising on Māori language issues. The Commission also certifies interpreters, coins, new vocabulary and promotes excellence in language through regular Wānanga Reo (language camps) for those who teach in Māori.	1995	‘Aha Pūnana Leo selected to receive approximately \$4 million per year in federal funds from the Native Hawaiian Education Act.
		1996	The centenary of the total ban on Hawaiian as a medium of instruction in Hawai‘i schools.
By 1988	Over 500 Kōhanga Reo were providing education for approximately 8,000 Māori children under five.	1997	Federal funding money is increased to \$7 million.
1990	17 bilingual schools opened. 616 Kōhanga Reo on Hoani Waititi marae.	1998	University of Hawaii at Mānoa (UHM) established the first teacher preparation program specifically aimed at preparing Kula Kaiapuni teachers—a joint effort between the College of Education, Hawaiian language faculty of the Department of Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific languages at UHM and Kula Kaiapuni ‘o Ānuenue of the Department of Education.
	Responsibility for Kōhanga Reo was transferred from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education.		

1993	Māori Broadcasting funding agency, Te Mangai Paho, is established to promote Māori language and culture.	1998-1999	Kula Kaiapuni o 'Ānuenue became the first and only Kula Kaiapuni program that serves children from birth through grade 12.
	23 state funded Kura were operating with 11 private Kura set up but waiting for state funding.		
1995	Māori Language Commission designates 1995 the Māori Language Year (Te Tau o te Reo Māori). National Māori Language Survey found 10,000-20,000 fluent speakers of Māori—4% of total Māori population 16 years and older.	1999	Federal funding money is increased to \$18 million.
By 1995	23 radio stations throughout the country broadcasting in a mix of Māori and English.	1999	11 Pūnana Leo schools served 209 children—3 schools on Hawai'i (Hilo, Waimea, Kona), 2 schools on Maui (Wailuku and Lahainaluna); 1 school on Moloka'i (Ho'olehua), 4 schools on O'ahu (Kalihi, Wai'anae, Kawaiaha'o, Ko'olauloa) and 1 school on Kaua'i (Puhi).
1996	New Zealand census had a question about language use in the home and found 153,669 Māori indicated they knew enough Māori to hold an everyday conversation.		
1996	Aotearoa television network broadcasts a trial free to-air television service in Auckland area.		First students educated entirely in Hawaiian graduated. First 15 teachers graduate from the UHM teacher preparation program for Hawaiian language immersion.
1997	Nine institutions around New Zealand offering teacher training for immersion teachers.	2001	The next 15 teachers graduated from the UHM teacher preparation program for Hawaiian language immersion.

A total of 675 Te Kōhanga
Reo, 54 Kura Kaupapa and 3
Wananga operating around
Aotearoa.

1998 60 Kura Kaupapa Māori
received state funding.
Government announces
funding for Māori television
channel and increased funding
for Te Mangai Paho.

‘Aha Pūnana Leo. ‘Aha Pūnana Leo – Our Language. “Hawaiian language nest
movement.” Available at: <http://www.ahapunanaleo.org/OL.htm>.

Christchurch City Libraries - Ngā kete wānanga-o-Ōtautahi. “He manawa o te reo: the
heart of the language – a summary of the history of the Māori language.” Available
at: http://library.christchurch.org.nz/HeManawa/history_of_the_Maori_language.asp.

King, J. (2001) “Te Kōhanga Reo – Māori language revitalization.” In The greenbook of
language revitalization in practice. Academic Press: San Diego 119-128.

Schweitzer, V.S. “‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i.” Available at:
<http://www.coffeetimes.com/language.htm>.

Te Kōhanga Reo – ko te reo te mauī te mana Māori. “Te Kōhanga reo – about us.”
Available at: <http://www.kohanga.ac.nz/aboutus.html>.

Te reo Māori in libraries. “He punataunaki - ko te reo te mauī o te mana Māori.”
Available at: <http://www.trw.org.nz/He-Puna/one.htm>.

Warner, S. L.N. “The movement to revitalize Hawaiian language and culture.” In The
greenbook of language revitalization in practice. Academic Press: San Diego 133-
144.

As exhibited through the list, the usage of Māori and Hawaiian rapidly declined from their prominence as the primary language for trade, business and education. Proclamations prohibiting the use of Māori and Hawaiian languages set off a distress call from indigenous Māori and Hawaiian for some type of preservation of their respective languages, especially when surveys and studies showed that those who were native speakers of Māori and Hawaiian were primarily nā kūpuna, the elders. The number of native speakers was slim to none, from baby to children and adults (sixteen years old and older) was virtually nonexistent. There were very few native Hawaiian language speakers at the time, and most of them were concentrated in the kūpuna generation.

Early forms of education: early forms of language immersion programs

The first form of indigenous language education was through the oral tradition of speaking, observing, and learning. In regards to a Western type of education system, the foremost indigenous language education was an attempt by native Hawaiian scholars in 1932 to create a means for native Hawaiians to learn their ancestry and history of their ancestor when they first became aware of the fact “that a very large percentage of the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians of [that day could not] speak and pronounce pure Hawaiian” (Thrum 1932). They wanted to create a type of reassurance that Hawaiian knowledge and traditions would be remembered and preserved. The mission schools established throughout the Pacific are some of the first Western style schools that taught in the indigenous language of the people. Some places only had Western schools that would incorporate a bit of culture and history as written by westerns to educate students, but never by the indigenous people let alone in their native tongues.

Where indigenous languages fit in each Pacific Island country's educational system varied from place to place and people to people. The importance of instruction in indigenous languages or the language as a subject is significant for indigenous people. In Hawai'i and New Zealand, the revival of teaching in Hawaiian and Māori languages, respectively, in language immersion schools has contributed to a reawakening of cultural pride. The language allowed for a link to connect with the ancestors and traditions. Language education, therefore, has played quite a significant role in the lives of the indigenous people.

Language immersion programs in concept follow traditional education that has occurred in the Pacific for hundreds of years by using the indigenous language as the language medium of instruction. Both the Māori and Hawaiian people wanted to rejuvenate Māori and Hawaiian languages through language immersion that fit into the Western education system. In spite of the fact that culture and reconnection to the culture and traditions is more of the emphasis in immersion schools through the indigenous languages, students are given more than the basic tools that will empower them to compete in the Western world. Rather than view their ability to speak in the mother tongue of their ancestors or be bilingual as a handicap, education through immersion programs has presented them with the competence to exceed expectations.

Although there are critics of the entire immersion concept and programs who are educators, others in the communities have also been critical in regards to the program. Their main concern is the small amount of education that the students receive in English. People who do not understand how the program is structured or who are not involved within the community believe that the limited amount of English in the schools that does

not begin until the fifth grade (in Hawaiian immersion schools) and sparingly thereafter through high school is insufficient (Dunford 1991). Consequently, those critics feel that this negatively impacts the future of the students who may not be able to fit well into the English speaking society that we live in because “. . . [it is of no benefit to the child] to retreat to the past. The program would better serve the children were it to supplement rather than replace the standard of English curriculum,” (Dunford 1991). However, whatever reservations there were regarding the amount of English that immersion students are taught should cease. William Wilson, who is a teacher at Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani, along with his wife, Kauanoe Kamanā, speak only Hawaiian at home, and says that his children’s English-speaking skills are strong because “we have an English teacher working in our house. It’s called a TV,” (Dunford 1991). Other “teachers” of English include reading materials that are only published in English and not translated and also radio and music of pop culture that surrounds the students.

Through the immersion program, students are taught more than just the language of their ancestors. As students are able to learn about their culture and history, they are able to formulate an identity, which fosters self-confidence and self-esteem. There are certain things that teachers cannot teach and students cannot learn. The school environment enables teachers and students to communicate with the indigenous language, both inside and outside of the classroom. While students are at play, just talking story with friends, or discussing subjects, students often choose to and prefer speaking Māori or Hawaiian rather than English. Immersion language teachers utilize their knowledge and abilities of the language in their teaching, which reinforces the objective of language immersion education. The programs lack many competent and qualified teachers for all

subjects and grade levels as additional grades and schools are added to the immersion program.

Materials and resources to fulfill the curriculum in order to meet the Western-based education standards are difficult to obtain. There was a rush to create, translate and distribute materials for each new class and subject, which put additional stress on the language (Hawkins 1991). In addition to the stress placed on the language when creating material, what should be taken into consideration also is the fact that many of those who are immersion teachers (with the exception of teachers who are natives of Ni'ihau) are second language speakers. The language proficiency of those who have learned Hawaiian as a second language varies and that is passed on to the students who are just learning. Accordingly, the children's speech also changes and they somewhat unconsciously made grammatical alterations in their speech that they have been exposed to from the teachers and aids within the immersion environment (Hawkins 1991). The Māori Language Commission and the 'Aha Pūnana Leo presented the important task of acting as guardians of the indigenous languages for the future.

Revitalization of indigenous languages united communities and tied those in the present to the elders and ancestors of the past and for generations of the future. It has proven to be a wonderful combination that has been quite successful in the perpetuation of indigenous languages that until recently were depleted in the number of native speakers and a fleeting way of life and traditional education. The students who were educated through and have graduated from the immersion programs have moved forth in pursuing degrees at the tertiary level of education. If indigenous language immersion has hindered students in an English speaking society or in education, then it is not evident

from studies that focus on tracking graduates and their college test scores (such as the SAT in the United States) and their capability to advance comfortably into higher education. Achievements that indigenous language students and the program reached have refuted the criticisms that they received at its conception through the growth and development of the entire immersion program in New Zealand and Hawai'i.

Indigenous language education in writing began with the missionaries in striving to convert the indigenous people from pagan lifestyles to the world of Christianity and Western society. It would be decades before some indigenous people of the Pacific would revert back to education through the medium of the indigenous languages. The first notable representation started with the Kōhanga Reo Māori and Kura Kaupapa Māori language immersion schools followed by the Pūnana Leo and Kula Kaiapuni Hawaiian immersion schools. However, the extent to which other Pacific islands have experienced the impact of colonization on their indigenous languages have not been as drastic as the aforementioned Polynesian languages. The force of colonization in French Polynesia has been continuous through the twentieth century. Yet, the French colonial government has attended to the needs of the indigenous people, culturally and linguistically. Inclusion of indigenous languages as the medium of instruction in the education system of French Polynesia was somewhat tolerated, but carefully watched.

The first schools that were instituted throughout the Pacific and French Polynesia were mission schools by mainly Protestant missionaries. Matters changed with the arrival of the French Catholic missionaries in the 1830s and 1840s, replacing the British London Missionary Society. The principal goal for which they established these schools was religious conversion, but also included other secular subjects (Douglas 1994, Mugler

and Lynch 1996). Although leaving the operation and decision-making up to the missions themselves would be easier, the French government felt that they were at least partly responsible for education in the territory. Education began as a minor concern for the government at the time that the French first annexed and gained control over the French Polynesian region and was quite evident in the quality of teaching and teachers who were poorly trained (Douglas 1994). Composition of the teaching staff would play an important role in future language education.

In spite of the fact that mission schools were the first schools establish which conducted classes in indigenous languages of the Pacific, not many of them have survived due to the prohibition of utilization of those language by colonial governments in Hawai'i and New Zealand. Although the Tahitian language was prohibited for some time from the beginning of the century to around the early 1960s, the severity of near extinction that the previous two indigenous languages had to endure did not occur in French Polynesia. Tahitian was declared the second official language along with French in 1977 and the existence of a law known as the Deixonne law was uncovered (Pukoki 1996). The Deixonne law of 1951 permitted the instruction of teaching in the Tahitian language by way of the curriculum of the school (Coppentrath 1975). Private religious schools under the churches have dedicated themselves from their first settlement to teaching in the indigenous languages of French Polynesia such as Tahitian as well as the other Polynesian languages. According to Henri Lavondes, missionary established church schools continue to be committed to both the teaching in the indigenous languages and conducting religious services. The missionaries sought to convert the native population to Christianity and they reasoned that this would be best accomplished

through the use of the indigenous language. Language policies for the church mission schools greatly differ from the territorial government policies.

Selected annotated bibliography regarding indigenous language education

‘Oiai e nānā mai ana no nā maka.

While the eyes still, look around.

‘Ōlelo No ‘eau (Pūku ‘i, # 2381 p.260)

The underlying meaning to the above ‘ōlelo no‘eau as Mary Kawena Pūku‘i states, “While a person is living, treat him kindly and learn what you can from him,” (Pūku‘i, 1983). This is what has taken place with the creation of indigenous language immersion education like the Māori Te Kōhanga Reo and Hawaiian Pūnana Leo programs. It is while the Māori and Hawaiian languages were still alive, utilized and spoken with older adults and elderly that the indigenous people treated them kindly and become the students of Māori and Hawaiian languages, as second language or through immersion schools, learned all they could. The nā mākua (the adults) and nā kūpuna (the elders) would be the primary resources in the immersion programs from whom new generations of indigenous children would be able to hear and learn the language of their ancestors and how it is supposed to be spoken. While there were people around to learn the Māori or Hawaiian language from, they treasure them and hold them in high esteem, seeking to learn what you can before that special resource is no longer there to turn to.

Ties that bind the indigenous Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand and indigenous Hawaiians in Hawai‘i go beyond the close linguistic connection as a Polynesian language

under the Austronesian language family. The journey that the Māori and Hawaiian languages endured was extremely similar in history. Both languages would play an important role in indigenous language revitalization and education in their respective homelands. What was at stake for both peoples was the decline and possibly complete loss of the indigenous language should the last native speakers, now older adults and elderly, die without fostering young indigenous Māori and Hawaiians to be native speakers of their ancestral language.

After learning how to read and write, many Māori and Hawaiian people were literate and extensively used the writing as a means of communication, composition, and recording histories. Consequently, there was a shift from being a nation based in oral traditions to record and pass down from generation to generation the history of their ancestors, culture, traditions, chants, songs and genealogies to a written one. British and American colonizers as well as the missionaries strongly encouraged the indigenous people to assimilate to Western culture and government in many ways and the vehicle they used was the English language. Outlawing the use of the Māori and Hawaiian languages by each respective colonial power caused the indigenous people extreme grief and sorrow. Children growing up in the early 1900s experienced punishment or embarrassment for speaking in their native tongue when it was prohibited at schools. English was declared the primary language of government and schools.

Since speaking Māori or Hawaiian was prohibited, future generations only learned to speak English. It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that there was awareness amongst the indigenous people that the only people speaking Māori and Hawaiian were the older makua and kupuna. This triggered indigenous language revitalization in

Aotearoa-New Zealand, with the creation and establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo, the language nest, which in turn inspired their Hawaiian counterparts to start language nests of their own, known as Pūnana Leo.

The following sections consist of selected resources on the subject of Māori and Hawaiian language immersion in an annotated bibliography. The first section is of Aotearoa-New Zealand primarily because the Māori are the ones who began indigenous language revitalization for what is known in Polynesia as the language immersion program. Due to their beginning of Te Kōhanga Reo, the Hawaiian equivalent, Pūnana Leo, owe gratitude to them for inspiring its creation. Therefore, the subsequent section is focused on Hawai‘i and resources for information about or relating to the Hawaiian language immersion programs. The last section is a brief look at the status of the Tahitian language and language education there. This is not a comprehensive bibliography of everything published on indigenous language immersion education programs such as Kōhanga Reo and Pūnana Leo. It is a selection of resources that are relevant to the aforementioned programs and educating indigenous students immersed in indigenous language education as well as learning to be bilingual. It includes resources that address the issues of indigenous language immersion education as well as some historical information on language immersion education.

Although the Tahitian language has continued to be spoken through continuous generations and has not reached the endangered state that Māori or Hawaiian languages did prior to the creation of the language immersion programs, it is not utilized or heard as much as French is in Tahiti. Nevertheless, a very French government was established to govern Tahiti and majority of government affairs, business transactions, and education.

Tahitian children may know Tahitian or understand the language, but not readily use it or be able to speak it. The situations are different concerning Māori and Hawaiian indigenous languages as opposed to Tahitian, but the threat of Tahitian being lost is always there.

Indigenous language immersion education in Aotearoa-New Zealand

Language revitalization in Aotearoa-New Zealand started in the early 1980s. Prior to that time, the Māori language was primarily spoken in more rural areas, on the marae, and in some places among families or tribes. But students attending school were taught in English as decreed by law. In the late 1970s, Katerina Mataira and Ngoi Pewhairangi began a movement known as Te Ātaarangi that focused on language development for adults as a way for them to learn Māori as a second language (King 2001). The Māori language has born witness to tremendous growth in almost thirty years.

As with other indigenous languages, the Māori language was at one time the only language spoken prior to foreign Western arrival. After contact, Māori remained the primary language of communication for government and business as well as the most effective for missionaries to educate the indigenous people on religion and Christianity. The indigenous Māori people took to education, reading and writing at the mission schools so much so that it has been said that there were more literate Māori in Māori than there were English people in English (King 2001). Literacy and writing were the conduit for the Māori people to record their history, mythology and poetry in their ancestral language and also to publish newspapers and periodicals. Although a colonial

government was established and their language of communication was English, they still used Māori as it was necessary to translate official documents for the Māori population (King 2001).

The Native School Act that was passed in 1867 by the New Zealand government officially made the English language the language of literacy in school and the principal language between the Māori and British (King 2001). The result of the passage of the Native School Act essentially prohibited the Māori language in schools and the children who did speak Māori in schools were punished. Consequently, many people switched to speaking and writing in English so that by 1885, the decline of people speaking or writing in the Māori language was immense. The language of power in Aotearoa-New Zealand then became English and it was no longer Māori.

After two world wars, the 1930s depression, urban migration and introduction of television, English was more prevalent in society and in some homes primarily in the cities and towns (King 2001). With everything that was happening in the world and in the urban centers, there were Māori parents “. . . who believed that a good knowledge of English was essential to their children’s ability to obtain work and status within the now dominant and pervasive Pākehā community” (King 2001). Therefore, Māori parents personally chose not to speak or teach their children Māori at home. By the 1970s, the Māori language could be mainly heard on the marae. However, it was at that time the initial movement for Māori language revitalization began and to percolate in the young Māori people who wanted Māori to be taught in schools.

Since 1945, the Māori language was taught in secondary schools and at the university since 1951. It was then followed by the first bilingual school opening at

Rūātoki in 1977 that taught in Māori, the language of literacy for Māori children (King 2001). There was also the Ngāti Raukawa tribal confederation that started Whakati Puranga Rua Mano in 1975 that emphasized Māori language revitalization and was the forerunner for Te Wānanga o Raukawa, established in Ōtaki in 1981 where degree courses in management and the Māori language were offered (King 2001). As Māori language focused programs started to emerge and establish themselves, the move toward education in the indigenous language accelerated. At the forefront of indigenous language education in Māori was Te Kōhanga Reo.

The concept for Te Kōhanga Reo, the language nest, was formulated at a meeting organized by the government's Department of Māori Affairs from 1979 and it was at the Hui Whakatauirā in 1981 that the name and concept were fully formulated (King 2001). The first Kōhanga Reo opened in 1982 in Wellington with the goal of the program focusing on raising children as native speakers of Māori “. . . in a whānau environment which will ‘affirm Māori culture’,” (King 2001). In order to fuse Māori language and culture together to educate the children who were in the immersion programs, there needed to be a way that allowed the young and very young generations to learn from the older adults and elders in a setting that fostered language and culturally learning. Typically, the best suited place was on a marae.

A key component to accomplishing what Kōhanga Reo strived for, to create a young and future generations of Māori children growing up and learning to speak the language of their ancestors as well as learning and knowing their cultural heritage, only Māori was permitted to be spoken at the Kōhanga Reo site. In order to achieve this, they had to be surrounded with people who knew and could speak Māori, from those in the

whānau, administrative staff members and teachers. On the flip side, parents also had to be committed to the program by providing an environment where the children could hear and speak Māori, not just at school but at home, with elders and other community members. Given the fact that total immersion in the Māori language was a priority and to ensure that the children would also know the culture, emphasis was placed on whakapapa (genealogy), whanaugatanga (group relationships and support) and tuakana/teina (the role of older to younger) that would teach the children the cultural aspects of their Māori heritage and learning Māori. Yet, there were other factors like schools for higher grades, qualified teachers and funding needed as support the program and students to help them succeed.

Success of students in the Kōhanga Reo program forced parents and educators to see the necessity for students to continue in Māori language immersion for upper grades rather than at bilingual or English only schools as they witnessed students losing the language skills and knowledge they previously acquired. The Kōhanga Reo language immersion program grew to upper grade levels and created schools known as Kura Kaupapa Māori that also focused on total language immersion education where all instruction and curriculum are in Māori. The first Kura Kaupapa Māori opened in Auckland in 1985 on Hoani Waititi marae. Immersion students, who chose not to continue through the Māori language immersion program, were able to opt for mainstream schools and bilingual classes.

Even with the number of Māori language immersion schools and bilingual classes in mainstream schools growing, there was the initial need for qualified Māori language speaking teachers. The really qualified native speakers at the start of Kōhanga Reo were

largely older women who did not know how to teach and who had difficulties in sustaining their energy levels to work all day with children. There were young adults who received training, education and teacher qualifications in child care but who may have lacked the fluency in their Māori language skills as second language learners. They did, however, possess the desire to embrace and support what the Māori language immersion education programs were doing for the children and the Māori language. Through the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, “. . . forty-five training centers to teach and supervise trainees in completing the “Blue Book” training syllabus,” (King 2001) were established. However, a more comprehensive training known as whakapakari was created, this training is three years long and is accredited by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority to training kaiako in child care, language and culture in the event they choose to work in the Māori language immersion program. Those who enter the program should be proficient in Māori areas. The most important qualification would be for anyone involved or planning to be involved in the immersion program to be supportive of the program and the goals for the program and students.

The whānau was the foundation of Kōhanga Reo’s success and has grown beyond the traditional meaning of whānau to encompass people from other whānau. This was the foundation of support for the program but monetary support came from the government through the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, which is a charitable organization. Other monies were obtained through fees that the Kōhanga charged. The moral, emotional, and financial support as well as dedication was important for the continuance of the Kōhanga Reo program.

Continuing the Kōhanga Reo program would further create new generations of native speakers of Māori who would hopefully pass it on to their children and the cycle would continue creating successive generations whose first language is Māori. Te Kōhanga Reo pushed Māori language revitalization into the consciousness of many people, the Māori, pākeha and Hawaiian alike.

The Māori language education initiative created an arena that urged and supported the education system to include Māori and educate Māori children totally in Māori or in a bilingual setting. English is so prevalent throughout Aotearoa-New Zealand that, just as in Hawai'i with Hawaiian language immersion students, they would learn English anyway and grow up bilingual speakers. Students would also receive education in English as a precautionary measure. Test scores have proven that Māori language immersion education has not hindered students in their education. It in fact did the exact opposite with students excelling and scoring very high on aptitude tests while taking the tests earlier in grade level than their counterparts. Learning the language of their people, culture and ancestors provided students a foundation of who they are and pride to live life as a Māori in a predominantly pākeha society.

By incorporating Māori culture with Māori language education, Māori children get a better sense of who they are, who their ancestors were, and their role in society. It has not only been the children who were students and learning about their Māori language and culture but so were their parents who were in the generation that missed out. The adults who were around or involved with the Māori language education initiative made a commitment to support the revitalization efforts and in the process, they were able to learn what their parents or grandparents had chosen for them not to learn.

Many of them have rallied around the initiative as a positive renewal of culture and heritage.

Has the indigenous language education in Māori initiative accomplished the goals that gave birth to the concept of Te Kōhanga Reo? The goal to have younger generations of Māori children speaking Māori and being educated in the Māori language after over a hundred years of prohibition was accomplished.

Selected annotated bibliography: Aotearoa New Zealand

Benton, R. A. (1973). Should bilingual schooling be fostered in New Zealand? a paper read at the general meeting of the Wellington Language Teachers Association. Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Looking at the period prior to the establishment of the Māori language immersion program, a question and discussion surfaced about whether or not bilingual education should be incorporated in the school system. They found that Māori was still being spoken, although somewhat limited in use and location, but it was still being accepted as everyday speech. It states that “the idea of Māori as a means of instruction either in place of, or together with, English is of course, no new thing in New Zealand education,” but it changed with the British government administration. Revitalization in Māori language and culture began in the 1960s, but the perception that children should learn English was still the common belief. The author then poses the question as to whether there were enough Māori at the time to foster Māori speakers and education.

Benton, R.A. (1984 September). Bilingual education and the survival of the Māori language. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. 93(3): 247-266

Describes the history of bilingual education for the Māori and how the language was adversely affected. It also examines where English and Māori language were the strongest in terms of preferential use by the community.

Benton, R.A. (1980 December). Changes in language use in a rural Māori community 1963-1978. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. 89(4): 455-478.

Conducting fieldwork research in Rūātoki and Tawera in 1963, the author found that a majority of the children spoke Māori. However, by the time children were recorded speaking in 1977-78, the speech of those children changed. Due to the changes in speech and linguistics of students in the late 1970s, a comparison of the language change could be made as well as studying the effects of bilingual schooling program. All of this factors into the language revitalization efforts. It was also found that children readily borrowed or interchanged Māori and English words in their speech. Other changes occurred when both Rūātoki and Tawera schools decided to become bilingual schools and from junior levels teach only in Māori. It was found that as much as students in the 1970s groups spoke and choose to speak English, they also knew, understood, and could speak Māori with borrowings from English and in some instances preferred to speak Māori in some situations and English in others.

Benton, R.A. (1996). The Māori language in New Zealand education and society. *Pacific Languages in Education*. 209-227.

Provides a historical look at the indigenous Māori language of New Zealand and the cause for the establishment of the first immersion program and schools. Language policies, treaty obligations, and the position of the indigenous language in society and education are some of the factors that are important in the formation of language education in New Zealand.

Benton, R.A. (1991, 1997). The Māori language: dying or reviving? a working paper prepared for the East-West Center Alumni-in-residence working paper series. Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Provides an overview of New Zealand Council for Educational Research Sociolinguistic Survey of Māori Language Use that was completed in the 1970s. Addresses the state of the Māori language and decline in its use in addition to possibility of its revival.

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., and Richardson, C. (2002). Te toi huarewa: effective teaching and learning in total immersion Māori language educational settings. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 26(1): 44-61.

Focuses on teaching and learning strategies in Māori language immersion classrooms. Thirteen teachers who created culturally appropriate environments are observed. Also examines curriculum and material used in teaching.

Carpenter, V. (1999). Neither objective nor neutral? reflecting on my subjectivity through the research process in Takiwa School. Refereed paper presented at the AARE-NZARE Conference Nov/Dec 1999. Melbourne, Australia: Auckland College of Education 1-14

Presents the author's qualitative research as a neutral researcher in a K-12 school in a rural New Zealand community with Māori residents and also new arrivals to the area. A part of the study addresses the progressive and alternative learning methods.

Chrisp, S. (2005). Māori intergenerational language transmission. In H. Lotherington and R. Benton (Eds.) *Pacific sociolinguistics*. *International journal of the sociology of language*. 172: 149-181.

Examines the factors of transmitting the Māori language from one generation to another and what is useful versus what kind of hinderances there are or could be. Provides a history of Māori being passed on through communication from one generation to the next.

Cooper, G., Arago-Kemp, V., Wylie, C. and Hodgen, E. (2004). Te rerenga ā Pīrere - a longitudinal study of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori students. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Available at: <http://www.nzer.org.nz/>

Presents a study of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori students. The study charts the progress of students studying in their educational and social environment of

being immersed in the Māori language. It discusses the overall aspects of the Māori students' education from their use and competency in the language (both spoken and written) to their identity, cultural practices, and the environment in which they learn.

Edmonson, K. (1984). *Pirtahi te Kōhanga Reo: Maoridom in microcosm*. Auckland, New Zealand: Carrington Technical Institute.

Examines an organization in the beginning stages in the Western suburbs of Massey. Part of it concludes that the concept of Kōhanga Reo works best when situated on the marae. It also presents daily diaries of events and observations as well as background information on individual children and family.

Hale, K. (2001). Introduction to the Māori language. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, California: Academic Press 115-116.

Provides a brief overview of Māori as a Polynesian language. Also chronicles the Māori literacy and the decline as well as rise of the Māori language through Te Kōhanga Reo movement. It also touches upon some grammatical aspects of Māori.

Harawira, W., Walker, R., and McGarvey, T. U. (1999). *A bicultural research journey: the Poutama Pounamu Education Research Centre*. New Zealand. (Report No. RC 023 643). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED467398). Accessed through EBSCOhost.

Presents the work of Poutama Pounamu Education Research Centre at the New Zealand Special Education Service for bicultural and education. They work to build on and develop learning resources for parents and teachers of Māori students for language revitalization. Emphasizes the cultural knowledge of the researchers and their understanding of the Māori tradition and practice.

Harlow, R. (2005). Covert attitudes to Māori. In H. Lotherington and R. Benton (Eds.) *Pacific sociolinguistics. International journal of the sociology of language*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter 172: 133-147.

Gives a history of the Māori language from changes in the grammar of Māori to the establishment of the Māori immersion program. The author explores issues regarding the use and revitalization efforts to have the Māori language be spoken and especially be the medium of instruction in schools.

Harrison, B. (2001). *Rakaumanga School, 1986-87. Collaborative programs in indigenous communities*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press. 169-187.

Presents the author's experiences in conducting fieldwork and working collaboratively with indigenous communities being researched. It is a narrative of what occurred from the start to the end of her research. In this chapter, the author is in New Zealand working with Robert Mahuta and his home community of Waahi Marae in Huntly. The author provides background information on the community, but focuses on the school in a Māori community. Furthermore, it covers distractions,

problems incurred, and lessons learned for researchers. Most importantly, the author discusses designing collaborative programs like that with Rakaumanga school that was bilingual and wanted to develop its Māori immersion program.

Harrison, B. (1998). Te wharekura o Rakaumangamanga: the development of an indigenous language immersion school. *Bilingual Research Journal*. Available at: <http://brj.asu.edu/v22234/articles/art11.html>

Presents a history of the indigenous language immersion school in Māori and the efforts for language revitalization. Summarizes the background of the movement, cultural aspects, and the school program. Discusses the language shift and revitalization in regards to school, curriculum, pedagogy, and performance assessment.

Hohepa, M. K. (1993). Preferred pedagogies and language interactions in Te Kōhanga Reo. Auckland, New Zealand: Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland.

Addresses the issue of language and knowledge acquisition. Focuses on three students who experienced the Kōhanga Reo setting. The concern of the researcher is the relationship between pedagogical frameworks and preferred learning practices in relation to the learner's needs. Discusses the Te Kōhanga Reo program, language socialization, and tikariga Māori, a foundation for Māori language learning.

Hohepa, P. (1984 August). Current issues in promoting Māori language use. *Language Planning Newsletter*. 10(3): 1-4.

Presents an abridged history of Aotearoa-New Zealand from the time of contact. This also includes the population of the indigenous Māori and a breakdown of the remaining ethnic groups of people such as the Europeans, Chinese, Indian and other Polynesians (from Western Sāmoa, the Cook Islands, Niue, Tonga, Tokelau, and Tahiti). Furthermore, it contains specific laws that surround the issue of the use or prohibited use of the Māori language in the schools and later the recognition of Māori as an official language. Hohepa addresses the teaching of Māori, the immersion program, and other outside possible use of Māori in communication.

Katene, N. (1992). Kōhanga Reo: let's celebrate. He Pārelerele - Occasional publication series. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington.

Describes and evaluates the impact of Kōhanga Reo and bilingual education policies on children. Includes literature review of traditional Māori, overview of bilingual education, and contemporary policies in addition to methodologies and results of the study. Also includes a questionnaire sample.

King, J. (2001). Te Kōhanga Reo: Māori language revitalization. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, California: Academic Press 119-128.

Seeks to examine Te Kōhanga Reo, the language nest. It is part of the movement by the Māori in Aotearoa as the foundation for indigenous Māori language revitalization.

It chronicles the history of Māori language and literacy and also the usage of Māori in education.

Long, D. S. (1994). Literacy in Pacific islands language in New Zealand schools *Journal of Reading*. International Reading Association. 39(2): 146-148.

Relates Māori language immersion to the literacy of Māori children. The author not only discusses the Māori plight in preserving their language, but also addresses the issue of other Pacific islanders in New Zealand and efforts to preserve their native languages.

Meade, A. and Podmore, V. N. (2002). Early childhood education policy co-ordination under the auspices of the Department/Ministry of Education: a case study of New Zealand, Early Childhood and Family Policy Series. (Report No. PS 030 680). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 468561). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Examines Māori history and education in New Zealand and the government services availability for Māori education. It also mentions the Māori renaissance and creation of Kōhanga Reo. It further discusses child care and administrative integration of early childhood care and education.

May, S. (1998). Language and education rights for indigenous peoples. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. 11(3): 272-296.

Presents a look at the rights of indigenous people and focuses on international law as a means for gaining self-determination. Also focuses on indigenous language and education rights for indigenous people through international law. The Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand are considered here in regards to indigenous rights and education through international law. A history of the colonization of New Zealand and the Treaty of Waitangi is analyzed regarding what was promised to the indigenous people in terms of education and all other human rights. It was found that Māori children were not successfully taught rather than the students not being successful in school. Hence the movement to establish Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori in efforts to save and preserve the language through revitalization.

Mutu, M. (2005). In search of the missing Māori links-maintaining both ethnic identity and linguistic integrity in the revitalization of the Māori language. In H. Lotherington and R. Benton (Eds.) *Pacific sociolinguistics*. *International journal of the sociology of language*. 172: 133-147.

Addresses the issue of being Māori and remaining a Māori in and through colonization. It not only considers who is or what a Māori is, but also a Māori person's cultural identity and self-identity tied through the person's genealogy.

New Zealand Education Review Office. (1993). Overview analysis: assurance of Te Kōhanga Reo. Wellington, New Zealand: Education Review Office-Te tari arotake matauranga.

Provides an overview analysis from eighty Kōhanga Reo audits conducted from February to June 1993.

New Zealand Education Review Office. (1993). Overview analysis assurance audits of Te Kōhanga Reo. Wellington, New Zealand: Education Review Office-Te tari arotake matauranga.

Presents an overview analysis on the reports of 41 regular assurance audit reports on Kōhanga Reo conducted from January to March 1994.

Nicholson, R. (1997). Māori total immersion courses for adults in Aoteroa-New Zealand: a personal perspective. (Record No. FL 020 992). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 354773).

Offers an adult total language immersion program in Māori based on the author's own experience. It was established under Whakatupuranga Rua mano Generation 2000 tribal program that focuses on Māori people who can contribute and support the Māori language and cultural programs.

Nicholson, R. (1989). Marketing the Māori language. In J. Reyhner (Ed.) Teaching indigenous languages. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University. 206-213.

Examines how the Māori language could be marketed to encourage Māori people to learn and speak the language, celebrate the language, and spread the positive side of Māori language to Māori as well as the other ethnic groups living in New Zealand. The focus is really to elevate the language in the communities in order to revitalize the use of it and also to promote Māori history, culture, and heritage.

Parr, C.J. (1963 September). Māori literacy 1843-1867. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Wellington, New Zealand: The Polynesian Society 72(3): 211-234.

Describes the attempts in New Zealand to preserve the people's interest in reading and writing as well as a bilingual system of education. By 1857-1860, there was a shift in belief that the Māori schools and many of them desired Western education. So, while there was a rise in boarding school enrollment, there was also a decline that could be attributed to war. From the 1867 Native Schools Act emerged a bilingual education system that was later disposed of by the government.

Parsonage, W. (1956 March). The education of Māoris in New Zealand. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Wellington, New Zealand: The Polynesian Society 65(1): 5-11.

Focuses on what the educational needs were for the Māori students for the future (1960s and 1970s). Provides a brief background on the Māori schools from the time of the mission schools to government control, racial decline and rejuvenation.

Pere, R. (1994). *Ako: concepts and learning in the Māori tradition*. Wellington, New Zealand Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board.

Presents the Māori traditions of learning. The first section covers Māori history and ancestry touching upon 'te reo,' the language and its importance in and of itself, and also in kinship and tribal identity. The other two sections discuss Māori learning, education, and other topics, but puts an emphasis on Native Schools Act, multiculturalism, differences between Māori and pākeha codes and bilingualism.

Powell, G. (1955). The Māori school - a cultural dynamic? *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Wellington, New Zealand: The Polynesian Society 65(3): 259-266.

Discusses the Māori school system and education and the status of the Māori culture. There is a historical summary of the Māori school service and cultural setting. Also examines the Māori school and the influence it has on the use of Māori language.

Ratapu, R. and Hohepa, M. (1992). *He kete kapu korero: a bibliography of readings on Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori*. Auckland, New Zealand: Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland.

Offers a bibliography of readings related to Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, focusing on educational initiatives since 1982 by Māori. Covers topics such as key documents in policy terms, policies on Māori language and education, schooling strategies and other topics associated with the Māori language immersion education.

Ritchie, J. (1994). Development of a Māori immersion childhood education diploma of teaching. New Zealand: University of Waikato. (Record No. FL 023 380). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED393291). Accessed through EBSCOhost.

Observers that when the Māori language immersion schools were first created and established, there were a lack of qualified teachers who could teach in the Māori language. The Māori early childhood immersion teaching diploma program at the University of Waikato was created to allow would-be teachers in the Māori language immersion program to hone their Māori language skills as well as be able to provide a good formal education for children in the immersion program that would foster their learning in addition to teaching in the Māori culture and tradition.

Ritchie, J. E. (1956 March). Human problems and educational change in a Māori community: a case study in the dynamics of social decision. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. 65(1): 13-34

Addresses how a Māori community faced the problem of changes in education and worked to resolve it. The community had to address the relevant factors for which the solutions would be based.

Roberts, M. (1999). The evolution of Māori education in a predominantly non-Māori school. (Record No. RC 023 657). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 467411)

Examines what happens when only 10% of the school's population is Māori and the other 90% is pākeha. The school was able to provide instruction in Māori culture and language when requested and also remained culturally sensitive to the Māori values. In 1982 the Forest Lake school switched over to provide bilingual education. Also discusses how the school provides for both Māori and non-Māori resources and allows greater success for all students.

Robust, T. (2002). Ko te reo te mauri o ta mana Māori: the language is the life essence of Māori existence. In Indigenous languages across the community. (Record No. RC 023 386). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 462232).

Discusses how educational reforms recently established by the New Zealand government affect Māori community in decision making process, with a focus on Motatau Māori community. Addresses the role of the new board of trustees as well as computer-based information networks linked to traditional family networks, school-community issues, teachers' workload, and budget and finances.

Rubie, C. (1999). Kia kaha: improving classroom performance through developing cultural awareness. New Zealand. (Record No. RC 022 458). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 441 651). Accessed through EBSCOhost.

Presents a study that took twenty-four Māori children in grades three to six to perform at a children's festival in Turkey, but the study also included Māori students who did not participate in the festival. The hypothesis of this study was to examine if students would have a better cultural awareness and how it would affect their self esteem. Interviews about the outcome of the experience were conducted with students, parents, teachers, and caregivers.

Shafer, S. M. (1988). Bilingual/bicultural education for Māori cultural preservation in New Zealand. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 9(6): 487-501.

Describes the bilingual and bicultural education system in Aotearoa New Zealand for the Māori through the language immersion program. Addresses the emphasis on Māori culture in the school system and program and how it affects education.

Smith, G. H. (2003). Indigenous struggle for the transformation of education and schooling. Anchorage, Alaska: Keynote address to the Alaskan Federation of Natives (AFN) Convention.

Studies the effects of the Māori people to stop or at least slow down the language shift in Aotearoa New Zealand among the indigenous people in using their indigenous language by creating the Māori language immersion education program. They took control of what they saw was occurring among the Māori community in terms of people speaking the Māori language. This speech presents how indigenous people

can take control and decolonize themselves away from Western educational system within the Western society that is already firmly established.

Spolsky, B. (2003). Reassessing Māori regeneration, language in society. *Language in Society*. 32(4): 553-578.

Addresses the issue of language loss and maintenance. For the Māori, there were three decades of grassroots inspired efforts at maintenance or revival with reluctant recent support from the government. It is necessary to make up for the gradual loss of the language after over a century of contact with colonizers. The goal is to reverse the language shift that occurred from English back to Māori.

Spolsky, B. (1989). Māori bilingual education and language revitalization. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 10(2): 89-106.

Revitalizing the Māori language use in the schools began in the 1970s, but it was to only be a part of the Western education system, to be taught in a bilingual educational setting. However, the formation of Māori language immersion programs have pushed the efforts forward and established a number of immersion schools. With all that has been done to establish Māori language immersion schools, the question is whether or not the Māori language has a chance of surviving and being revitalized.

Waitangi Tribunal. (1986). Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim. Te Reo Māori Report. Wellington, New Zealand: Waitangi Tribunal.

States the nature of the claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. Provides a history of the Māori language in the past, present, and future from the colonial period through modern times. Addresses the claimants and their claim, the Treaty of Waitangi, education issues and broadcasting issues. Lastly, it addresses the role and place for Māori language in today's society.

Walker, R. J. (1985). History of Māori activism. Paper submitted to the 15th Pacific Science Congress in Dunedin 1-11 February 1983. Auckland, NZ: Center for Continuing Education, University of Auckland.

Explores the beginnings of Māori activism and the Treaty of Waitangi as a tool for correction of injustices to Māori. A part of the activism included efforts to get Māori language full recognition in the education system.

The status of Hawaiian language immersion education

Hawaiian language in the twenty-first century is closer to that of the 1800s than any where or time in the twentieth century within a hundred year span. The Hawaiian language was the primary language of Hawai'i and its people for politics, communication, trade and everyday life. A long history of decline and the banning of Hawaiian ended with a renaissance that led the way for its acknowledgement as one of two official state languages in the State of Hawai'i. However, the most impact and boost for the Hawaiian language and native Hawaiians was the creation and establishment of the Hawaiian language immersion program.

‘Ōlelo Hawai'i or Hawaiian language is the language of Hawai'i and remained so in 1840 when Kamehameha III established a constitutional monarchy. The Hawaiian language was the primary language in which political documents, business and education material were written. From 1860 until the end of the century, Hawai'i saw Hawaiian language newspapers flourish with publications of Hawaiian genealogy, histories, legends, riddles and Hawaiian culture (Warner 2001).

The shift towards English as the medium of communication and education was just as gradual as the decline of Hawaiian language. Even though the first English medium school, Royal School, was established in 1839 for the children of the Hawaiian royal family, by 1848, the majority of the common or public schools were taught through the Hawaiian language (Warner, 2001).

Although credit is given to the missionaries of Hawai'i for creating a written Hawaiian language and teaching native Hawaiian adults and children to be literate,

around 1854 they were encouraging to the Hawaiian people to learn English. Learning the English language was pressed upon native Hawaiians as a way for them to better live and exist with the outside world, that being the Western culture and environment. This point of view and belief was further reinforced after the 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani and the Hawaiian monarchy. It was after the overthrow that Western foreigners responsible for the overthrow created the Republic of Hawai'i through which they mandated that English would be the medium of instruction in the schools. The Organic Act of 1900 later mandated that all government business be conducted in English and further legislation as the U.S. Territory of Hawai'i established the law that required the English language to be the only medium of instruction for not less than 50% of the school day (Warner 2001). No longer was the indigenous language of Hawai'i the language of instruction nor the primary language of government.

For the most of the twentieth century, the Hawaiian language was primarily spoken on Ni'ihau and amongst many older Hawaiians in more rural areas. Many native Hawaiians who spoke Hawaiian and were taught the Hawaiian language around the 1920s were either punished or humiliated at school for speaking Hawaiian and were told only to speak English (Warner 2001). The punishment coupled with pressure from teachers and society resulted in many Hawaiian parents choosing to not teach or speak to their children in Hawaiian. They may have spoken it amongst themselves or others, but not to the children because they were led to believe that their children would be better off and succeed in this new Western society if they spoke English.

Between the time that native Hawaiians were encouraged to only learn and speak English and the Hawaiian language revival around the 1970s, fifty years had passed and

Hawaiian Creole English, commonly referred to as pidgin or Hawaiian pidgin, was the language of the generations born and growing up at that time. The last native Hawaiian language speakers at the turn of the century gave way to native speakers of Hawai'i Creole English (Warner 2001). There were no longer young Hawaiians speaking the indigenous language of their ancestors. It would later take a generation of native Hawaiians to reach back and reclaim their Hawaiian heritage and language.

Beginning in the 1960s, there were young native Hawaiians who ignited interests in their Hawaiian language and culture beginning with dance and music. However, it is not until the 1970s when the Hawaiian renaissance truly began. This renewed interest in Hawaiian history and culture also looked to the Hawaiian language and where it was, or in many cases, where it wasn't. The Hawaiian renaissance saw the Hawaiian language being designated as one of two official languages for Hawai'i during the 1978 Constitutional Convention and another law established Hawaiian as the official native language. The acknowledgement of Hawaiian language was only a small step to change what the laws from 1893 and 1900 had established for almost a hundred years.

The Hawaiian renaissance generation produced second language speakers of Hawaiian who now questioned where were the native speakers. Knowing and understanding the history of Hawaiian language prompted them to realize that majority of native speakers of the Hawaiian language were older adults and elderly Hawaiians. Hawaiian language was their second language and they looked at what could be done to save the language from dying and created a whole new generation and future generations of native speakers of the Hawaiian language. During the early 1980s, the Hawaiian community became aware of an indigenous language immersion education program

known as Te Kōhanga Reo, or “language nest,” which the Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand began.

Kauanoë Kamanā and William H. Wilson joined with other Hawaiian speaking educators who founded ‘Ana Pūnana Leo, the Hawaiian equivalent to the Māori Te Kōhanga Reo, language immersion program. Pūnana Leo, language nest, was set up as a total immersion preschool for children two to five years old. The first Pūnana Leo preschool opened in 1984 in Kekaha, Kaua‘i and the next two followed in 1985 in Hilo, Hawai‘i, and Kalihi, O‘ahu. The initial purpose of the organization was to establish and operate Pūnana Leo schools with the overall goal of revitalizing and perpetuating the Hawaiian language and culture through the creation of new generations of native Hawaiian-speaking children,” (Warner 2001). As successful as the program appeared, there were a number of problems and issues that surfaced with the creation, conception and starting the Hawaiian language programs.

The issues that needed to be addressed in starting the Hawaiian language immersion schools included infrastructure, lack of qualified teachers, funding, and relevant materials. Schools to house the Pūnana Leo program and later Kula Kaiapuni had to be located. The Department of Social Services and Housing persisted in holding to all State regulations in all aspects of running Pūnana Leo—from buildings being up to code to the age and number of hours students were in school as well as certified teachers and staff who were going to work at the schools (Warner 2001).

At the start of Hawaiian language immersion preschools and subsequently Kula Kaiapuni, the teachers who were qualified to teach under the State regulations were second language learners who graduated from the University. As each grade level up

through the twelfth grade was added, there was a need for more qualified Hawaiian language teachers. Native speakers of Hawaiian language were also utilized in the classroom as assistants or aides. The idea was for students in the Hawaiian immersion program to be totally immersed in the Hawaiian language starting with the teachers, resource aides, kupuna and administrative personnel as well.

Funding and support for the Hawaiian immersion schools began with the same grassroots efforts as the program itself, relying on tuition parents paid and fundraising efforts. Eventually, grants and funding to run the schools, training for staff and teacher salaries came from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and federal funding. With the passage of the Native Hawaiian Education Act in 1995, 'Aha Pūnana Leo received \$4 million per year in federal funds that allowed them to “develop curriculum and various educational and teacher training programs . . . and to provide scholarships for students attending universities,” (Warner 2001). In the following years, federal funding monies increased.

Just as the Māori language immersion program lacked culturally relevant materials and general materials for all subjects in the school curriculum, Hawaiians also lacked school textbooks and reading books in their indigenous language. For quite some time those who were involved in the Hawaiian language immersion program were left to their own devices to translate English written books into Hawaiian. Ultimately, 'Aha Pūnana Leo produced and published books and storybooks that were culturally relevant to Hawaiian students, culture, tradition and language. In a time of technology advancement and enhancement, the technological Hawaiian language immersion program has had to update and make the language even more relevant to contemporary times.

A living language not only continues through generations but also evolves and grows as necessary. The Lexicon Committee is responsible for developing new terms and words for such topics as computer terms and action as well as other modern and contemporary actions, objects, and even technological terminology. In order to further advance the immersion of Hawaiian language immersion students into the language, Hale Kuamo'o of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo created "Leokī." This is the first indigenous language electronic bulletin board service that has extended the use of Hawaiian language to technology such as computers and the internet. They have worked to change program menus and commands from English to Hawaiian so that everything on the site and program is Hawaiian to totally immerse students in the language.

Hawaiian language immersion education has seen success in graduates who completed their education through high school successfully and who have moved on to attend college. It will take time and generations of Hawaiian language immersion students continuously speaking Hawaiian to demonstrate whether the goals and intentions of the creation of Hawaiian language immersion education program were met. As educators and the Hawaiian community wait to see if new generations of native speakers of Hawaiian language are formed, the Hawaiian language program and education have evolved to encompass a graduate school major and college in addition to a living language that grows and survives.

Selected annotated bibliography: Hawai'i

Dunford, B. (1991). Language and heritage, a controversial language-immersion program in Hawai'i is preserving the native culture. *The Executive Educator*. 36-38.

Discusses the controversy that surrounds the Hawaiian language immersion education program that promotes Hawaiian language and culture. Addresses the long term effects on students in the immersion programs and their English language abilities, especially to those who do not support the Hawaiian language immersion program. It briefly touches upon the Hawaiian renaissance, and addresses the obstacles for the program, such as the need for qualified teachers, translated texts, and language needs for Hawaiian words relating to contemporary society.

(1994). Reauthorization of the Native Hawaiian Education Act. Oversight hearing on reauthorization of the Native Hawaiian Education Act to authorize and develop supplemental education programs to assist Native Hawaiians in reaching the National Education Goals (Report No. RC 019 798). Washington, D. C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED374940). 2-231.

Presents a collection of testimonies from the hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs chaired by Senator Daniel Inouye regarding the reauthorization of the Native Hawaiian Education Act. The testimony of each person speaking is on the behalf of education for native Hawaiian children in order for them to succeed and meet national goals.

Celis, W. (1994). In school, a language may yet live on as long as children can say, e 'ōlelo Hawai'i wale no ma'ane'i. *New York Times*. New York, NY. B9.

Provides a brief article on Hawaiian language immersion includes interviews with teachers and Pūnana leo administrators. Discusses some methods of teaching, need for altering English written texts and the interest generated by native people of the United States.

Duford, B. (1991 December). Language and heritage: a controversial language-immersion program in Hawai'i is preserving the native culture. *The Executive Educator*. 38-39

Addresses the often-controversial Hawaiian language immersion program and criticisms that the program has endured. Response from individuals directly involved in addition to discussion on language, issues of the native culture are also included. The author briefly mentions the Hawaiian renaissance and obstacles the programs encountered.

Elsasser, R.A. (1995 June). Nurture in the language nest, Pūnana Leo preschools ride the renaissance in Hawaiian speech. *Hawaii Magazine*. 67-70.

Examines a Pūnana Leo school and how educating students in Hawaiian has evolved from punishment for speaking Hawaiian at school to complete immersed education

today. Reference is made to the prediction by Bruce Biggs that the Hawaiian language would be the first Polynesian language to die, but has instead flourished through revitalization efforts.

Etlin, M. (1995 February). Keeping the language alive. *NEA Today*.

Gives a brief look at the Hawaiian language immersion program. Discusses the lack of Hawaiian language material and texts as well as how to educate students following the State's curriculum with the differences being that the subjects are taught in Hawaiian and they use relevant materials and references. For example, if they are studying plant biology, then they focus on Hawaiian plants and would instead do a comparative study of Greek and Hawaiian mythology. It also addresses some funding issues and parental involvement.

Hawaiian language immersion teacher training project at the University of Hawai'i. Available at: <http://www.uatuahine.hawaii.edu/hana/ITTP>

Presents an overview of the program that began for pre- and in-service teachers who will teach in the Hawaiian immersion programs. The program is a prototype for training future language immersion teachers. Also includes brief summaries of the Kūkamaile summer institute training programs.

Hawkins, E. I. (1991). Hawaiian immersion education: where will it take the language? Honolulu University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Indo-Pacific Languages.

Examines the changes that have occurred in the Hawaiian language within the Hawaiian language immersion program. Noted are the changes in the structure of selected sentences and pronunciation of words.

Hinton, L. (2001). An introduction to the Hawaiian language. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) The green book of language revitalization in practice. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Presents a very brief introduction to the Hawaiian language and its origins in the Austronesian language family. Briefly discusses the Hawaiian language history and what led up to the revitalization efforts.

Ka'awa, M. and Hawkins, E. (1999). Incorporating technology into a Hawaiian language curriculum. In J. Reyhner (Ed.) Teaching indigenous languages. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University. 151-157.

Examines Hawaiian language in education and using technology as an inclusive factor in it. Provides a history of Hawaiian language from its prohibition through the establishment of the Hawaiian language immersion program. Continues with a focus on how the University of Hawai'i is contributing to the support and advancement of the Hawaiian language and immersion programs.

Kamanā, K. and Wilson, W.H. (1996). Hawaiian language programs. In G. Cantoni (Ed.) Stabilizing indigenous languages. Flagstaff, AZ: Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University 153-156. Also available at: <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/stabilize/additional/hawaiian.htm>

Summarizes the background on the Hawaiian language immersion programs and the history for the development of the programs at different levels of education. Provides a brief background of the Hawaiian language and number of Native Hawaiian language speakers. It also discusses the creation of the first Hawaiian language immersion school, Pūnana Leo, as well as the 'Aha Pūnana Leo, a non-profit organization that supports the immersion schools. Also presents Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i, Hawaiian immersion program in the public school that allowed Hawaiian language preschoolers to continue their education in Hawaiian, and Hawaiian language education and classes at the university level. Mentions advancements in the Hawaiian language at the university and Hale Kuamo'o Hawaiian language center and what they do to support the Hawaiian language.

Maka'ai, I., Shintani, J.K., Jr., Cabral, J. and Kamanā Wilson, K. (2005). Four Hawaiian language autobiographies. In T.L. McCarty and O. Zepeda (Eds.) Indigenous language use and change in the Americas. *International journal of the sociology of language*. 132: 115-121.

Tells stories from four fluent speakers of the Hawaiian language growing up with involvement in the Hawaiian language and revitalization programs and efforts. Some are native speakers of Hawaiian, another is a second language learner of Hawaiian

McCarty, T.L. and Watahomigie, L.J. (1999). Indigenous education and grassroots language planning in the USA. *Practicing anthropology*. Oklahoma City, OK: Society for Applied Anthropology. 20(2): 5-11.

Examines the movement by indigenous people in the United States to educate children in their heritage language. It discusses language immersion and bilingual education as well as indigenous literacy for the Navajo and Hawaiians. Looks at the grassroots efforts of indigenous language speakers to establish language policies and practices to uphold the language. One of the programs that is referred to is the Hawaiian language immersion program based on the Māori Kōhanga Reo model. What they find is that the grassroots efforts of the Navajo and Hawaiians stem from the decline of the language usage as well as native speakers. Also mentions bilingual education and literacy issues through language maintenance. Lastly, the article states what is needed to aid in linguistic self determination and the future.

Office of Instructional Services/General Education Branch. Department of Education. (1994). Long-range plan for the Hawaiian language immersion program, Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i. Honolulu, HI: Department of Education.

Presents the long range plan for the Hawaiian language immersion program as a list of goals they would like to accomplish as well as the needs of the program and the program's future. The goals for the program are to develop high proficiency in comprehension and communication in the Hawaiian language, develop a strong

foundation in Hawaiian culture and values, create empowered and responsible individuals of the community, and develop knowledge and skills in all areas of the curriculum. Presents steps and plans in which to accomplish the goals of the program.

Piper, P. S. (1994). *Schools-within-a-school: the Kapa'a Elementary School model*. (Report No. EA 026 165). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED375469). 1-6.

Focuses on Kapa'a Elementary School on Kaua'i and the schools-within-a-school that they created. Discusses problems and issues dealing with schools-within-a-school, like that of Kula Kaiapuni Hawai'i o Kapa'a and the problems they faced in administering the Hawaiian language immersion program. Also presents other programs that are also within the same school, like Enterprise (that teaches applied technology), Cosmic (that focuses on creative and critical thinking skills), Kaleidoscope (that uses the child's natural approach to learning as a way for instruction), and Excel (that is based on traditional education yet also involves the parents). Although the large size of the school was problematic, the benefit of having schools within a school offered parent and students choices of the type of education they want. Teachers can create teams and work with their own teaching philosophies and style of teaching.

Salkever, A. (1998 February). Hawaiian traditions attract more than just tourists. *Christian Science Monitor* 90, 48. Retrieved May 25, 2005 from EBSCOhost.

Addresses the renewed interests of people in Hawaiian culture and traditions, whether they are from Hawai'i or around the world and visitors. Provides a brief history on hula and the Hawaiian language that is discussed with a Hawaiian language teacher regarding the ban on speaking Hawaiian. This also discusses the resurgence of Hawaiian language through Hawaiian immersion schools and Hawaiian music.

Schutz, A. J. (1994). *The voices of Eden: a history of Hawaiian language studies*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.

Concerns the linguistical history of Hawaiian language. Includes the relationship of the Hawaiian language with other Polynesian language and language family. References to numerous wordlists.

Slaughter, H. (1993). Learning to read English outside the school, patterns of first language literacy acquisition of Hawaiian language immersion students. *Educational Perspectives*. 9-17.

Provides a brief account of the process of creating the Hawaiian language immersion programs. More importantly, it addresses the issues of the Hawaiian language immersion teachers who are second language learners of Hawaiian. The article also discusses students being surrounded by English. Vignettes are also included as a means to examine selected students proficiency in English. The focus was to understand how Hawaiian language immersion students acquire literacy outside of the classroom, which was typically the English language.

Slaughter, H. B. (1997). Functions of literacy in an indigenous second language: issues and insights from an ethnographic study of Hawaiian immersion. (Report No. FL 024 694). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED410752). 1-13.

Examines literacy in Hawaiian language that would be aided by indigenous language education programs such as Hawaiian language immersion. However, problems arise when the teachers in Hawaiian immersion are not native speakers, but rather second language learners and there are limitations to students who are not able to access native speakers. The author also explores the relationship between the Hawaiian language and local culture in Hawai'i. Provides an examination and critique of the curriculum and materials for Hawaiian language instruction due to the lack of Hawaiian language books and resources. The Hawaiian culture and traditions are a part of the education of students. Speaking Hawaiian is applied to everything they participate in from the classroom to the playground.

Slaughter, H. B. and Lai, M. K. (1995). Hawaiian language immersion: lessons from a six-year study. *FLES News, National network for early language learning*. 8(3): 41-46.

Presents a six-year study on the lead Hawaiian language immersion program and examines factors that affect students' success rate. It concludes that the goal of fostering children to speak fluent Hawaiian language and increasing the number of people who do speak the language fluently has not yet been accomplished, but is on its way. The study presents issues in education, curriculum, and test scores as a way to assess the students' knowledge and education compared to their English instructed counterparts and also to measure the success of the program.

Slaughter, H. B. and Lai, M. (1994). Indigenous language immersion as an alternative form of schooling for children of Hawaiian ancestry: lessons from a six-year study. (Report No. FL 022 474). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service no. ED 375 637). 1-9.

Examines and evaluates the Hawaiian language immersion program. The author assesses the program focusing on the first class of six graders in the cohort. Data was gathered through testing and focusing on areas such as reading assignments in Hawaiian and English students were tested in reading, writing, and math achievement. Also includes recommendations for curriculum and expansion of the program.

Slaughter, H. B., Lai, M., Bogart, L., Basham, J. L., and Bobbitt, D. U. (1993 December). Evaluation report for the first cohort to complete sixth grade in the Hawaiian language immersion program. Honolulu, HI: Department of Education, State of Hawai'i.

Considers the success of the first class of Hawaiian language immersion students to complete the sixth grade. It focuses on Keaukaha Elementary School and Waiau Elementary School which had the first kindergarten-first grade classes in the Hawaiian language immersion program. Students were assessed in English using different methods. Presents the findings of the study and achievements of the

students through their test scores on the Stanford Achievement Test compared to students educated with English as the medium of instruction. Finally, there are some recommendations for improving the Hawaiian language immersion programs.

Sorensen, B. (Winter 1998). A vibrant & vital language is passed down to a new generation: the Pūnana Leo immersion schools in Hawai'i. *Winds of Change; a magazine for American Indians in Science and Technology*. 13(1): 34-37.

Discusses the beginning of Pūnana Leo Hawaiian language immersion schools. Addresses the problems of finding qualified Hawaiian speaking teachers and the childrens' ability to speak English. But for the most part, although at the time of the article's publication the language immersion schools had been in operation for about ten years, the author questions the benefits of the Hawaiian language immersion programs.

Warner, S. L. (1996 May). I ola ka 'ōlelo i nā keiki: ka 'apo 'ia 'ana o ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i e nā keiki ma Ke Kula Kaiapuni (Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1996). Honolulu, HI.

Focus of this study is on the learning of Kula Kaiapuni, Hawaiian language immersion, students and the effectiveness of language immersion education. Provides background information on the Hawaiian language program from its goals to teachers, staff, parents, and the State's Department of Education's role in educating students completely in the Hawaiian language. Warner examines the curriculum and presents findings from the study of language acquisition of Hawaiian language through immersion education.

Warner, S. N. (1998 August). Ke a'a mākālei: a planning and implementation project for Hawaiian language regeneration. Honolulu, HI: Center for Second Language Research, Department of English as a Second Language, University of Hawai'i.

Addresses the Hawaiian language revitalization efforts through the establishment of Hawaiian language immersion programs. Presents a history of the Hawaiian language from the start of revitalization movement through the current status. Warner examines the number of speakers and their fluency in addition to use-where Hawaiian language is spoken in the community, media, writing by students (what they are producing in print and media formats), and speakers using the language outside of the classroom setting for example, in sports. Included is a questionnaire that researchers used.

Warner, S.L.N. (2001). The movement to revitalize Hawaiian language and culture. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) The green book of language revitalization in practice. San Diego, California: Academic Press. 133-144.

Presents an overview of the history of Hawaiian language from usage prior to Western contact through efforts to revitalize the use of Hawaiian as the medium of instruction in the schools. Includes an analysis of social events and issues connected to the decline of Hawaiian being spoken, which ultimately resulted in less native speakers. In regards to Hawaiian language revitalization, focuses on the early

movements to establish the revival efforts and follows through with the creation of the Hawaiian language immersion schools. The problems and issues that the program endured from critics are also addressed as well as other controversies about the program curriculum, adding grade levels through high school, standardized tests, and so forth.

Warschauer, M. (1998 October). Technology and indigenous language revitalization: analyzing the experience of Hawai'i. *Canadian Modern Language Review*. 55(1):139-160. [EBSCOhost]

Presents the ethnographic research by Hawaiian educators to use online technology as a means to promote the Hawaiian language and revitalization efforts. The Hawaiian language community, specifically Hale Kuamo'o, is responsible for creating the first indigenous language bulletin board system for students, teachers, and parents as a means for them to be surrounded and immersed in the Hawaiian language. Focus is placed on how the internet can be used to promote and utilize the Hawaiian language in the same way that English is used and promotes cultural awareness and identity. Multimedia is being used as a way for students to be immersed in the Hawaiian language and to have the ability to use it everywhere in the modern world.

Warschauer, M. and Donaghy, K. (1997). Leokī: a powerful voice of Hawaiian language revitalization. Available at: <http://www.gse.uci.edu/markw/leoki.html>

Discusses the history and revitalization of the Hawaiian language with the challenges that the language and community faced. Discusses the linguistic problems for the revitalization in terms of resources and materials that apply to the present times. However, the focus of Leokī is using the computer and technology now to communicate in Hawaiian so that students and teachers are always surrounded by and immersed in the Hawaiian language.

Warschauer, M., Kolko, B., Nakamura, L. and Rodman, G. (Eds.) (2000). Language, identity and the internet. *Race in cyberspace*. New York, NY: Routledge. Also available at: <http://www.gse.uci.edu/markw/lang.html>

Addresses the role language plays in a peoples identity. During the time of information and technological advancements, the author ties together the Hawaiian language and the internet to the identity of the Hawaiian people as well as revitalizing the language.

Wilson, W. H. and Kamanā, K. (2001). "Mai loko mai o ka 'i'ini: proceeding from a dream, the 'Aha Pūnana Leo connection in Hawaiian language revitalization. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press. 147-176.

Presents a look at the Hawaiian language throughout history as a language commonly spoken, but also through education and how the people shifted to speaking English. Furthermore, it discusses in-depth the Hawaiian immersion program and organizations associated with the program. Continues to present an in-depth analysis on issues that the total immersion program faced regarding curriculum, new schools,

successes, and use of English language as related to the revitalization of the Hawaiian language.

Wilson, W.H. (2005). I ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i ke ola, 'life is found in the Hawaiian language.' In T.L. McCarty and O.Zepeda (Eds.) Indigenous language use and change in the Americas. *International journal of the sociology of language*. 132: 123-137.

Examines the issue of Hawaiian language revitalization. Provides a historical look at Hawaiian, the endangered indigenous language of Hawai'i. Discusses the changes in the Hawaiian language as well as its use in the school system.

Wilson, W.H. (1998). The sociopolitical context of establishing Hawaiian-medium education. *Language, Culture, and Curriculum*. Available: <http://firstsearch.oclc.org/WebZ/SageRetrieveMarkedCategories?sessionid=sp02sw12-4484...> 11(3): 325-338.

Presents a history of the establishment of Hawaiian language education and what was involved in creating the program. The movement for language revitalization efforts began with the Hawaiian renaissance in the 1970s. Focuses on the legislation that declared Hawaiian language the other official language for the State of Hawai'i alongside English and also brought about other injustices suffered by Hawaiians. Also presents other programs that were to be included in the public education that leads up to the formation and creation of 'Aha Pūnana Leo based on the Māori Kōhanga Reo.

Yamauchi, L. (1998). A review of indigenous language immersion programs and a focus on Hawai'i. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, University of Massachusetts School of Education Journal. 31(1): 11-20.

Addresses educational policies regarding indigenous languages in the United States and how that greatly affected the utilization of indigenous languages. Discusses the history of language loss and causes for the demise. Then examines indigenous language immersion programs and the move to bilingual education. As an example, the Hawaiian language immersion program is examined along with the policies and the current status.

Yamauchi, L. A. (2001). The sociocultural context of Hawaiian language revision and learning final report: Project 1.6 Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence.

Discusses the implementation of kula kaiapuni under the Hawaiian language immersion program. The author presents the process of data collection and study participants as well as the findings and implications of indigenous language. Yamauchi also discusses the history of Hawaiian language and the establishment of the Hawaiian language immersion programs as Pūnana Leo and into the public schools. Presents a chronology of the program and the lack of Hawaiian language materials and qualified teachers.

Yamauchi, L. A., Ceppi, A. K., and Lau-Smith, J. (1999). Sociohistorical influences on the development of Papahana Kaiapuni, the Hawaiian language immersion program. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*. 4(1), 27-46.

Analyzes the policies through history regarding the Hawaiian language and what initiated the movement towards establishing the Hawaiian language immersion program and Papahana Kaiapuni. This article follows the timeline for the Hawaiian language from the Hawaiian renaissance through Pūnana Leo's creation and the Department of Education's role in Hawaiian language immersion. Addresses issues of curriculum, school sites, and expanding the program to secondary grades.

Yamauchi, L.A., Ceppi, A.K., and Lau-Smith, J. (1998). A sociohistorical analysis of the Hawaiian language immersion program. (Report No. FL 025 261). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED419415).

Discusses the Hawaiian language revitalization efforts through which the Hawaiian language immersion program, Papahana Kula Kaiapuni, evolved. In this research they gathered data through interview and document analysis. Presents the changes and evolution of the Hawaiian language through the year and the organization that supports the immersion program, 'Aha Pūnana Leo, and the State Board and Department of Education and their responsibilities to educate Hawaiian students.

Yamauchi, L.A., Ceppi, A. K., and Lau-Smith, J. (2000). Teaching in a Hawaiian context: educator perspectives on the Hawaiian language immersion program. *Bilingual Research Journal*. Official journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education. 24(4). Also available at: <http://brj.asu.edu/v244/articles/ar5.html>

Focuses on the Hawaiian language immersion program as part of the Heritage Language Initiative, which is the only K-12 public educational program conducted entirely in the Hawaiian language in the United States. This is only part of a larger project to incorporate three planes of sociocultural analysis. Examines the results such as identity issues by teachers and the transformation of the Hawaiian identity by participants and the educational setting in the schools. Emphasis is placed on including Hawaiian culture and traditions in the curriculum and the setting of the school's environment. It is a new concept in the United States school system.

Tahitian language and education

Tahitians have not suffered the same destiny as their cousins in Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai'i in terms of loss of native speakers or continual use as a conversational language. Tahitians were fortunate in that the colonial French government did not inflict the restrictions that British and American colonizers did on the use of indigenous languages. They, too, could set an example for indigenous people of the Pacific to create a support system for education of their children in their indigenous language or to at least permit usage in schools and in everyday life.

The first missionaries to arrive in French Polynesia were the British Protestants in 1830s or early 1840s (Douglas, 1944). French Catholic organizations grew into a stable governing power and changes in the economy, politics, social and academic areas were underway. At the end of the 1800s, the remnants of the British colonizers in the eastern Pacific made way for the French to move in and further heighten their dominance.

With the establishment of the mission schools, French became the language of instruction in the French overseas territories. Utilization of indigenous languages in the education of Pacific island students in the formal western educational system was a part of the earlier mission schools given that the missionaries' primary goal in establishing their schools was religious conversion. Over time, it was beneficial for the French administration to have their subjects speak French. Consequently, French became the language of instruction in the schools.

Unlike other island nations in the Pacific, where indigenous languages were formally prohibited by the colonial administration, the Tahitian language was not

formally prohibited from schools from the turn of the century up until the early 1960s (Pukoki 1996). There were incidences where teachers would sneak upon students during recess to check if they were speaking Tahitian. If they were, then the students were punished. As in Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai'i, punishment for speaking in their native language contributed to large proportions of indigenous Tahitians dropping Tahitian and speaking only French, which would adversely affect the number of native speakers. However, it was the main sector of Tahiti and French Polynesia that witnessed the decline in Tahitian speakers which was centered in the urban areas. "[There are] certain classes of the Tahitian population, particularly [in] the urban, upward mobile, people of the island of Tahiti, are losing a good deal of their competency and fluency in Tahitian," (Levy 1970). Thus, loss of indigenous Tahitian language speakers was induced by Tahitian desires to be as affluent as their French counterparts.

In spite of the fact that there were Tahitians wanting to be French, Tahitians, armed with their language, became colonizers themselves. If students from the Marquesas, Mangareva, Tuamotu and other islands under the French Polynesia umbrella wanted to be well educated, then they had to attend school in Pape'ete where they were inadvertently coerced and pressured to learn Tahitian (Pukoki 1996). As there were six other indigenous Pacific languages in addition to French, some English and Hakka, knowing Tahitian was a necessity that forced students from the other islands to learn Tahitian as a foreign language. According to Winston Pukoki, ". . . everyone who lives on Tahiti must know Tahitian; it's really the lingua franca here." As of 1996, when Winston Pukoki was interviewed, it was his understanding that there was no official language policy in practice in the school system.

Tahitian, as the medium of instruction had its early beginnings in 1970s in the Protestant mission schools where the English who learned Tahitian could teach. The teaching of Tahitian at the University of French Polynesia only began in the 1990s and a Bachelor of Arts degree in Tahitian and other indigenous languages in French Polynesia is offered at the University. Tahitian has grown in French Polynesia and in 1977 the legislature recognized it as a co-official language alongside that of French (Tagupa 1979). This was significant because it guarantees that the Tahitian language would continue on through the future generations.

The schools have a bilingual system to comply with the informal policies requiring a specific number of hours to be spent using or teaching the Tahitian language. Although the Government Council finally acknowledged that a Tahitian language academy was necessary in 1967, it was not until July 2, 1974 that the first session of the Tahitian Academy was conducted (Coppenrath 1975). L'Academic Tahitienne (Tahitian Academy) or Fare Vana'a has been the main support for Tahitian language education. The creation of the Academy became a driving force for people who wanted to use their native language and express their uniqueness as Tahitians. There was renewed interest by young French speaking generations to learn the language of their ancestors. Revitalization of interest to learn the Tahitian language resulted in a series of revisions of grammar books and dictionaries.

“The first mission of the Academy is to safeguard, to maintain the language and then also enrich it [according to the resolution 194/AA adopted by the Territorial authorities on January 16, 1995], but not by imposing its terms on others,” (Coppenrath 1995, Pukoki 1996). The Academy board members have the responsibility to set and

adhere to the standards for the Tahitian language and education where language is concerned. There are seven specific statutes approved to cover what they will oversee. Radio—Tahiti is another entity that contributed to and influenced the language. Broadcasts in Tahitian began in 1950 and quickly became very influential in communities still based in oral traditions and with spoken Tahitian. Everything on the radio was presented in Tahitian, the news, music, geography, history and narrated legends. Aside from the Tahitian Academy determining what is done for Tahitian or how Tahitian language evolves, it is also Radio-Tahiti as well as the community that is a part of the process of contributing to possible terms or ways to express concepts. As with the Māori and Hawaiian languages, Tahitian needed words to describe or name new concepts such as technology (computer, internet) and other modern ideas or material objects. In Tahiti there were people who believed that they should borrow from the French and Tahitianize the word while others favored the invention or retrospective look at Tahitian root word or other Polynesian words to better suit the language. Unlike Māori and Hawaiian, however, if the Academy creates a word and it is not liked by the community, then they may submit suggestions for a new or better word. The Māori and Hawaiian language communities, on the other hand, have a committee comprised of members who are based in education or the schools who create or formulate new words but do not present the new words to the public for approval.

The Tahitian Academy is the primary organization responsible for grammar, punctuation, spelling and vocabulary of the Tahitian language. They work to fulfill their mission under the statutes established by the Government Council and Territorial Assembly and to also encourage the Tahitian people to participate in the process to assist

with cultivating their own indigenous language. More Tahitians are becoming active in learning and teaching the Tahitian language. Although French remains the official language used in conducting government, legislative business and media broadcast, there are organizations that strive for autonomy from French administrators led by people like Pouvana'a a 'O'opa. When he addressed the Assembly in Tahitian, it was one event that sparked a renewed interest in the language and identity among the younger generations of Tahitians.

Bilingualism or even multilingualism in French Polynesia permitted many indigenous languages to survive. The colonial language of the Territory has had a continual presence in government and education as well as broadcast communications where there is a limited amount of air time for indigenous languages to be heard. (Mugler and Lynch 1996). Use of the colonial language and indigenous language in every day conversations or interchanging indigenous word and phrases into the colonial speech or vice versa, exhibits how much the colonial culture and influence have become a part of the indigenous culture. Language colonization has not yet prevented Tahitian or other indigenous languages of French Polynesia from being used. There may be dialect differences between people from Tahiti, urban or rural areas, and those from the outer islands or island groups, but many communicate through French. Nevertheless, French has been the main language as is Tahitian, especially in interethnic relations in which "it has become the language of intercourse for all of the territory's Polynesian population," (Lavondes 1994). "Knowledge of Tahitian is an easily accessible goal, thanks to frequent contact with the small number of immigrant Tahitian officials, the relationship between the two languages and the educational influence of Radio Tahiti (Lavondes 1944).

Although French has been the medium of instruction in the French Polynesian school system, classes and some instruction using the Tahitian language has continued. In 1965 there was an awakening that caused people to think more about teaching the Tahitian language in schools. Students entering primary schools may have known words or phrases in Tahitian but did not know the language well. Consequently, the Tahitian language as the medium of instruction, especially in the first years of primary schools, became a standard practice in some schools (Pukoki 1996). There was a 1984 law that declared “Tahitian language as an obligatory subject to be taught during normal school hours in kindergarten and primary schools,” (Aldrich 1993). A number of required hours per week were to be spent teaching in Tahitian and increase as students moved up in each form or grade level. The requirement for teaching or instruction in Tahitian would be difficult on students from other island groups in French Polynesia who had to go to Tahiti to finish their education after Form 4. Although there is an official policy of using the child’s reo Mā’ohi or mother tongue when first starting school, those going to Tahiti from outside places like the Tuamotu islands are not taught in their indigenous language but rather in Tahitian.

The problem in French Polynesia is not so much the lack of education or instruction in Tahitian language. History indicates that Tahitian has continued as an indigenous language that has been spoken prior to, during and after colonization. However, they have not addressed the issue of the other indigenous languages of the Pacific in French Polynesia surviving or being included in the schools and education. “. . . Everyone who lives on Tahiti must know Tahitian, it’s really the lingua franca here,” (Pukoki 1996). The use of indigenous languages in education at any level provides for

social stability and maintenance but also forms the primary element of cultural identify (Aldrich 1993, Pukoki 1996). “The Tahitian language is part of Tahitian culture and involves much of the pride and identity of being Tahitian. It is . . . a national treasure . . . even though there is . . . only remnants of an oral tradition [that the] language represents and ‘codes’ in its vocabulary and, above all, in its semantics, Tahitian experience,” (Levy 1970).

Selected annotated bibliography: Tahiti

- Coppenrath, H. (1975). L'Academie Tahitienne. Pape'ete, Tahiti: Te Fare Vana'a.
Addresses the movement of the Tahitian language from the time of post-contact. Focus is on the discourse of the role and utilization of the Tahitian language at all levels in various sectors of government, broadcast communication, religion, and education. History of the Tahitian language, establishment of L'Academie Tahitienne (Tahitian Academy) and the future of the language are also discussed.
- Davies, J. (1851). A Tahitian and English dictionary. Tahiti London Missionary Society's Press (Haere Pō No Tahiti).
Provides a useful collection of Tahitian words and the English language counterparts. It also contains general explanation of grammar and linguistics of the Tahitian language.
- Henry T. (1928). Ancient Tahiti. Honolulu, HI: The Museum.
Compiles material recorded by J. M. Orsmond. Included in the ethology of Tahiti are Tahitian language texts, chants and folklore. The essence of this book is the mythology of Polynesia and the legends of Tahiti, the Society Islands.
- Jernudd, B. and Ward, J. (1978). COLLOQUIUM: colloquium on Polynesian languages. Honolulu East-West Culture Learning Institute.
Discusses Polynesian language planning conference held after the Tahitian language was recognized as an official language and movement on autonomy. At the conference, planning centered around the development of policies on the status of native languages of the region.
- Krupa, V. (1982). Languages of Asia and Africa - volume 4: the Polynesian languages - a guide. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd.
Provides a brief description of the Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family, which includes detailed breakdown of phonology, structure, words and phrases, rules, vocabulary and semantics.
- Laurens, C. and Vareille, J. (1984). New Caledonia and the Society Islands. Schooling in the Pacific islands: colonies in transition. Elmsford, New York: Pergamon Press 110-142.
Reviews the schooling and education system in the French overseas territories of New Caledonia and the Society Islands which focus on the structure, administration, personnel, curriculum and instruction which also includes an overview of the sociopolitical status.

Lavondes, H. (1994). Language policy, language engineering and literacy in French Polynesia. *Advances in Language Planning*. 225-276.

Discusses the position of each of the languages spoken in French Polynesia, such as Tahitian, Chinese and French in relation to literacy and demographics. History of language influence and government policies concentrated around education with French language proficiency is also examined.

Le Caill, M. (1982). A study of the roles of Tahitian, French and English in the educational system of French Polynesia. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, English as a Second Language.

Discusses the role that Tahitian, French and English languages play in the educational systems of French Polynesia in educating Polynesian children and the problems that are involved. There are suggested changes in bilingual education programs and using the aforementioned languages as the language of instruction.

Levin, P. (1978). Students and teachers on Tubuai: a cultural analysis of Polynesian classroom interaction. San Diego, CA: University of California San Diego.

Analyzes schooling and education in French Polynesia on the island of Tubuai; how students are taught and their interaction, adjustments and differences in learning. It also includes how cultural differences play a part in their education within the French educational system.

Levy, R. I. (1970). Teaching Tahitian language in the schools of French Polynesia *Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes*. 26(26): 79-83.

Addresses the issue of teaching only the French language in the schools in French Polynesia, and explores the need for teaching in Tahitian. The benefits of teaching Tahitian in the schools with bilingualism is also addressed as well as the social and psychological experience of the people. The author feels that this will assist in an easier transition and existence in their culture within the French system.

Perrin Y. (1978). Towards the development of adapted educational programs in Tubua'i. New York, NY: Columbia University Teachers College.

Examines the educational system of French Polynesia with concentration on the island of Tubua'i. Through research and survey, discusses the need to have culturally relative education for the students and the entire community to satisfy their needs and wants. The Western styles of educational programs need to adapt to the surrounding region and the people to be culturally sensitive and to suit their needs as developing areas.

Pollock, N. J. and Crocombe, R. (1988). French Polynesia: a book of selected readings. Suva Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific

Contains papers by various contributing authors that focus on the concerns, which exists throughout the Pacific. Issues that are addressed include the land, identity, the past and the future of French Polynesia and its people.

Pukoki, W. (1996). Reo Māohi in French Polynesia. *Pacific Languages in Education*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies 288-299.

Interviews Winston Pukoki who teaches ethnolinguistics and Tahitian language at the French University of the Pacific covers the path of the Tahitian language and teaching of the language schools. Also covers the Tahitian Academy and its role as guardian of the language, and the course in which they hope to guide the Tahitian language in the primary, secondary, and tertiary schools and thereafter.

Rensch, K. H. (1990). The delayed impact: postcolonial language problems in the French overseas territory Wallis and Futuna (Central Polynesia). *Language Problems and Language Planning*. 14(3): 224-236.

Discusses the two most outstanding events that had the greatest impact in the 1950s on the use of native languages in the French overseas Pacific territories, mass migration and conversion from a protectorate to an overseas territory.

Rogers, D. I. (1993-1994). Langue et enseignement. Tahiti, French Polynesia Madame Louise Peltzer, Universite Francaise du Pacifique, Pape'ete (Personal Communication, October 9, 1999)

Offers dated information regarding the Tahitian language and education in Tahiti, French Polynesia.

Saquet, J. L. (1997). The Tahiti handbook: te fenua. Tahiti Editions Avant Et Apres, Photocomposition Polynesia.

Contains a good description and chronology of events that occurred in Tahiti. There are colorful pictures, maps, illustrations that trace the paths of explorers, artifacts, drawings and samplings of what is described. Provides an overview of the history of French Polynesia, specifically Tahiti in the Society Islands. Along with a glossary of Tahitian words, included in this compact book is a look at Polynesian "civilization: of the past and present, significant historical events, the natural environment, settlement of the islands, and various aspects of the Tahitian culture.

Tagupa, W. (1973). A five-year majority: the politics of internal autonomy in French Polynesia. Honolulu, Hawai'i.

Uses statistics and political movements that began after World War II to illustrate the autonomy movement in French Polynesia. Covers the political groups and elections from the mid-1960s, and the major players in the government and movements such as Pouvana'a a 'O'opa

Tagupa, W. E. H. (Spring 1979). The Tahitian language: a historical and vernacular controversy. Honolulu, HI: Pacific Studies II(2): 144-155.

Presents a brief look at the Tahitian language and argument in regards to changes that occurred in the Tahitian language. Shows statistics on the usage in certain areas of the language between the people of French Polynesia.

Thomas, R. M. and Postlewaite, T. N. (1984). Schooling in the Pacific islands: colonies in transition. Elmsford, New York: Pergamon Press.

Provides a variety of articles that focus on different island groups in the Pacific in Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. Examines the school system imposed in each region as well as the curriculum and administration of the schools with some of the indigenous culture and people.

Conclusion

Colonization of the Pacific has altered the Pacific indigenous languages and in some instances it has led to the near extinction of some languages. Pacific Islanders understood the importance of their indigenous languages for the survival of their culture, traditions, histories and especially for themselves as a people. “For the language, for the children, for the people, it is indeed a matter of life or death” (Benton 1996). The indigenous Māori and Hawaiian people of Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai‘i have worked hard to ensure that the vernacular languages would be preserved and continue throughout the future for the succeeding generations.

The Māori and Hawaiian people saw the solution to their declining language and language education situation in the indigenous language immersion schools and programs. Although indigenous language immersion programs, like Kōhanga Reo and Pūnana Leo, contributed to the preservation of indigenous languages in Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai‘i, immersion education may not be needed nor suitable for other Pacific Island nations. Tahiti is an example in which the indigenous language was not in as much danger of extinction as the aforementioned places, and efforts were made to safeguard the Tahitian language so that this did not occur. While the native speakers of the indigenous languages in Aotearoa-New Zealand and Hawai‘i were dwindling and assimilating well to the western ways, which forced them to reject their native tongues in favor for the western colonial languages, other indigenous people in the Pacific need not be as concerned. Prohibition and punishment for use of the indigenous language is a familiar problem of the people as each colonial administration settled in the Pacific. However, the languages were not lost in its entirety due to the fact that those who lived in

the rural areas away from the port towns and cities have continued to speak in their native languages.

Pressure from the colonizers and the colonial government changed the status of the indigenous languages. Many indigenous languages of the Pacific remained intact even if in small numbers. Perhaps it is presumed that through language policies formulated by the colonial government that those languages would be eliminated or diminished significantly. Yet, bands of indigenous people have formulated organizations to protect their languages. "A powerful resource for traditional identity is the national language," an import component in the perpetuation of the culture and language (Levy 1970). Consistent and persistent efforts were made to establish education in, around and about the vernacular languages of the lands. So, after the languages have been banned or prohibited, it took many years before the government officially recognized them as official languages. Nevertheless, it would take time before educational systems would include indigenous languages into the curriculum and even longer for the languages to be accepted as the medium of instruction.

It is almost thirty years since the Hawaiian language gained official status as an official language along with English and as the medium of instruction in immersion schools. In Tahiti, the L'Academie Tahitienne (Tahitian Academy) or Fare Vana'a established the direction in which Tahitian language should go, and gained a head start in taking control of their destiny and the destiny of their indigenous language. Even though there were education programs and schools that either taught in the Tahitian language such as the mission schools, or as a subject from the earliest times of the French colonial government, it was not until 1980 that the Tahitian language was given official

recognition. When the 1984 law was approved the Tahitian language became a mandatory division of the curriculum up to the primary grade levels. Exposure of the Tahitian language to Tahitian and non-Tahitians alike has improved the status of the Tahitian language.

Western colonization in the Pacific has greatly affected the vernacular languages of the region. Alterations and changes in the languages are natural occurrences in evolution of the language and cultures. However, with the influx of western arrival, colonial administration, urbanization and Christianity, the modifications in the languages have been swift and significant. Western colonization, as experienced by the indigenous people in the Pacific has also had long lasting effects on the status of the indigenous languages. The shift towards colonial languages and away from vernacular language due to colonization tested on the strength of the people and the language.

Indigenous language immersion schools were established with the intention of reviving and perpetuating the indigenous languages of the land as well as the culture and traditions. The indigenous languages not only provide a link to the past of the land, culture and the ancestors but also give people a sense of identity and pride. Those who have not grown up knowing or understanding their ancestors' language lack something that colonization has taken from them. Although it has worked out well for the indigenous Hawaiians and Māori, immersion schools may not necessarily be successful in Tahiti. Tahitian students indicate that a Tahitian language immersion school is somewhat desired by a small sampling of secondary school aged students. Language colonization in Polynesia has not only affected the suppression of the language but also thoughts and feelings in regard to the indigenous languages and its status. A great

majority of the people have assimilated and acculturated very well to western colonial administration and this has severely affected the evolution of the indigenous languages of the Pacific and will continue to dictate the status and the diffusion of the languages.

References

Aldrich, R. (1993). France and the South Pacific since 1940. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.

Addresses the French presence in the Pacific from 1940. Provides the history of French territories in the Pacific and the effects of colonization.

Benton, R.A. (1996). The Māori language in New Zealand education and society. *Pacific Languages in Education*. 209-227.

Provides a historical look at the indigenous Māori language of New Zealand and the cause for the establishment of the first immersion program and schools. Language policies, treaty obligations, and the position of the indigenous language in society and education are some of the factors that are important in the formation of language education in New Zealand.

Cantoni, G. (Ed.) (1996). Stabilizing indigenous languages. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northern Arizona University.

Includes papers from the "Stabilizing Indigenous Languages" symposium about indigenous languages such as Native American, Sāmoan, and Hawaiian languages and programs that were created to stabilize each respective language.

Coppenrath, H. (1975). L'Academie Tahitienne. Pape'ete, Tahiti: Te Fare Vana'a.

Addresses the movement of the Tahitian language from the time of post-contact. Focus is on the discourse of the role and utilization of the Tahitian language at all levels in various sectors of government, broadcast communication, religion, and education.

Crowley, T. (1984). Pacific Languages: directions for the future. *Language Planning Newsletter*. 10(4)1-3.

Discusses the direction in which representatives of various Pacific islands would like to take the native indigenous languages. Also addresses the issue of Pacific vernacular status in the eyes of the native speakers.

Crowley, T. (1984 July). The future of French as a Pacific language. *Pacific Island Monthly*. 55(7): 55-58.

Provides a look at the educational system implemented by the French administration throughout French Polynesia, including New Caledonia and other French colonial territories. Addresses the issue of French as the official language and its transformation into a "Pacific" language. As a colonial power, France has influenced those under the French Republic and performs a role in society and education. Both the English and the French have a long history in the Pacific and have become indigenized languages as well as the Pacific languages of the indigenous people.

Douglas, N. (1994). Education in the Pacific islands today - special report part 2 *Pacific Magazine*. 19: 43-69.

Reviews the colonial educational systems in the Pacific that include American Sāmoa, the Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Guam, the Marshall Islands, the Northern Marianas, Palau and Western Sāmoa. (A continuation of the previous article).

Dunford, B. (1991). Language and heritage, a controversial language-immersion program in Hawai'i is preserving the native culture. *The Executive Educator*. 36-38.

Discusses the controversy that surrounds the Hawaiian language immersion education program that promotes Hawaiian language and culture. Addresses the long term effects on students in the immersion programs and their English language abilities, especially to those who do not support the Hawaiian language immersion program. It briefly touches upon the Hawaiian renaissance, and addresses the obstacles for the program, such as the need for qualified teachers, translated texts, and language needs for Hawaiian words relating to contemporary society.

Fishman, J. (Ed.). (2001). Can threatened languages be saved? reversing language shift, revisited: a 21st century perspective. Clevedon; Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.

Addresses the issue of language revitalization in regards to languages on the brink of dying out. There is a chapter that focuses on the Māori efforts to revitalize their language.

Gimes, J. E. (1995 June). Language endangerment in the Pacific. *Oceanic Linguistics*. 34(1): 1-12.

Addresses the issue of indigenous languages in the Pacific and its survival rate in a region where modernization and western influence have played a role in the disappearance of some languages and the decline in the number of speakers of the language that exist. Utilization or lack thereof indigenous Pacific languages and Western languages can be the significant contributing factor to the level of endangerment of Pacific languages.

Greymorning, S. (1999). Running the gauntlet of an indigenous language program. In Revitalizing indigenous languages-Papers presented at the Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium). (Report No. RC 021 957). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 428 924).

Focuses on a Arapaho teacher comparing the development of indigenous language programs for education. It discusses a history of the first Arapaho instruction and obstacles that were encountered. It referred to and drew from the Māori and Hawaiian language immersion programs by implementing cultural aspects into the classroom and curriculum.

Hawkins, E. I. (1991). Hawaiian immersion education: where will it take the language? Honolulu University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Indo-Pacific Languages.

Examines the changes that have occurred in the Hawaiian language within the Hawaiian language immersion program. Noted are the changes in the structure of selected sentences and pronunciation of words.

Hinton, L. (2001). Federal language policy and indigenous languages in the United States. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) The green book of language revitalization in practice. San Diego, CA: Academic Press. 39-44.

Focuses on language planning for indigenous language revitalization in the United States and the federal government's reaction or feelings toward indigenous languages. Addresses the issue of minority people who speak or use their indigenous languages as a threat to the government and how they govern.

Hohepa, P. (1984 August). Current issues in promoting Māori language use. *Language Planning Newsletter*. 10(3): 1-4.

Presents an abridged history of Aotearoa-New Zealand from the time of contact. This also includes the population of the indigenous Māori and a breakdown of the remaining ethnic groups of people such as the Europeans, Chinese, Indian and other Polynesians (from Western Sāmoa, the Cook Islands, Niue, Tonga, Tokelau, and Tahiti). Furthermore, it contains specific laws that surround the issue of the use or prohibited use of the Māori language in the schools and later the recognition of Māori as an official language. Hohepa addresses the teaching of Māori, the immersion program, and other outside possible use of Māori in communication.

King, J. (2001). Te Kōhanga Reo: Māori language revitalization. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) The green book of language revitalization in practice. San Diego, California: Academic Press 119-128.

Seeks to examine Te Kōhanga Reo, the language nest. It is part of the movement by the Māori in Aotearoa as the foundation for indigenous Māori language revitalization. It chronicles the history of Māori language and literacy and also the usage of Māori in education.

Lavondes, H. (1994). Language policy, language engineering and literacy in French Polynesia. *Advances in Language Planning*. 225-276.

Discusses the position of each of the languages spoken in French Polynesia, such as Tahitian, Chinese and French in relation to literacy and demographics. History of language influence and government policies concentrated around education with French language proficiency is also examined.

Levy, R. I. (1970). Teaching Tahitian language in the schools of French Polynesia *Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes*. 26(26): 79-83.

Addresses the issue of teaching only the French language in the schools in French Polynesia, and explores the need for teaching in Tahitian. The benefits of teaching Tahitian in the schools with bilingualism is also addressed as well as the social and

psychological experience of the people. The author feels that this will assist in an easier transition and existence in their culture within the French system.

Lynch, J. (1998). Pacific languages: an introduction. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.

Introduces languages of the Pacific that cover the grammatical structures of Oceanic, Papuan and Australian languages. This introduction also includes historical and geographical information that present evidence for settlement in the Pacific that linguistically links Pacific languages together.

Mather, G. Education (Chapter 24). The Pacific islands. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i, Pacific Island Studies 491, Spring 1999 296-304.

Provides an informative overview of education in the Pacific that begins with traditional education and historical impacts that have affected the language and change in curriculum. Two island groups are examined as the case study in the development of educational systems. A chart of educational institutions in the Pacific is also provided.

McCarty, T.L. and Watahomigie, L.J. (1999). Indigenous education and grassroots language planning in the USA. *Practicing anthropology*. 20(2): 5-11.

Examines the movement by indigenous people in the United States to educate children in their heritage language. Discusses language immersion and bilingual education as well as indigenous literacy for the Navajo and Hawaiians. It examines the grassroots efforts of indigenous language speakers to establish language policies and practices to uphold the language. One of the programs that is referred to is the Hawaiian language immersion program based on the Māori Kōhanga Reo model. What they find is that the grassroots efforts of the Navajo and Hawaiians stem from the decline of the language usage as well as native speakers. It also mentions bilingual education and literacy issues through language maintenance. Lastly, it states what is needed to aid in linguistic self determination and the future.

Mugler, F. and Lynch, J. (1996). Language and education in the Pacific. *Pacific Languages in Education*. 1-9.

Introduces the use of vernacular and other languages that have either been interjected or that have evolved through western dominance and influence to develop into pidgin and creole languages. Consequently, there has been a shift in the style of education and the role that languages had in the systems of education around the Pacific Islands with the philosophies that regulate them.

Pukoki, W. (1996). Reo Māohi in French Polynesia. *Pacific Languages in Education*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies 288-299.

Interviews Winston Pukoki who teaches ethnolinguistics and Tahitian language at the French University of the Pacific covers the path of the Tahitian language and teaching of the language schools. Also covers the Tahitian Academy and its role as guardian

of the language, and the course in which they hope to guide the Tahitian language in the primary, secondary, and tertiary schools and thereafter.

Pūku'i, M.K. (1983). 'Ōlelo no'ēau: Hawaiian proverbs and poetical sayings. Honolulu: HI, Bishop Museum Press.

Presents Hawaiian proverbs in Hawaiian with English translations. Various topics, subjects, places, and people of Hawai'i are found in the index.

Reyhner, J. (2003). Native language immersion. (Report No. FL 027 888). Washington D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 482 031).

Describes the benefits of indigenous language immersion education programs and total physical response approach to immersion for students. The focus of the study is on the development of the Māori and Hawaiian language immersion programs.

Reyhner, J. (1998). Teaching indigenous languages through immersion. What's Immersion Education? From the National Foreign Language Center's symposium. Available at: <http://www.ualuahine.hawaii.edu/hana/si98/jar/vocab.html>

Discusses the benefits of immersion education and the different types of immersion programs. However, one issue that is addressed is immersion education versus submersion education where students are placed in regular classrooms where they do not speak the language, but are expected to sink or swim.

Stiles, D.B. (1997). Four successful indigenous language programs. In J. Reyhner (Ed.) Teaching indigenous languages. Also available: http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/TIL_21.html Flagstaff, Arizona: Northern Arizona University 248-262.

Examines four indigenous language education programs by comparing the common elements, problems, and results. The four programs include Cree Way in Quebec, Canada, Hualapai in Arizona, Te Kōhanga Reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, and Pūnana Leo in Hawai'i. Provides historical background, establishment, funding, parents and community, and academics of each program. In addition, it studies the inclusion of cultural heritage and practice, revitalization efforts, literacy, and bilingualism and bilingual education.

Tagupa, W. E. H. (Spring 1979). The Tahitian language: a historical and vernacular controversy. Honolulu, HI: Pacific Studies II(2): 144-155.

Presents a brief look at the Tahitian language and argument in regards to changes that occurred in the Tahitian language. Shows statistics on the usage in certain areas of the language between the people of French Polynesia.

Thaman, K. H. (1993). Culture and the curriculum. *Comparative Education*. 29(3): 249-260.

Examines the usefulness and the necessity of incorporating culture into the school curriculum, especially in places such as the Pacific (specifically the South Pacific). It is a vital part in establishing where indigenous people stand and where they are going.

Thrum, T.G. (1932). Renaissance of Hawaiian life and lore. Hawaiian almanac and annual for... Bernice P. Bishop Museum special publication. 40-43.

Provides statistical and cultural information about and relating to Hawai'i. It addresses the issues of Hawaiian language education and Hawaiian scholars.

Warner, S.L.N. (2001). The movement to revitalize Hawaiian language and culture. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) The green book of language revitalization in practice. San Diego, California: Academic Press. 133-144.

Presents an overview of the history of Hawaiian language from usage prior to Western contact through efforts to revitalize the use of Hawaiian as the medium of instruction in the schools. Includes an analysis of social events and issues connected to the decline of Hawaiian being spoken, which ultimately resulted in less native speakers. In regards to Hawaiian language revitalization, focuses on the early movements to establish the revival efforts and follows through with the creation of the Hawaiian language immersion schools. The problems and issues that the program endured from critics are also addressed as well as other controversies about the program curriculum, adding grade levels through high school, standardized tests, and so forth.

Yamane, L. (2001). New life for a lost language. In L. Hinton and K. Hale (Eds.) The green book of language revitalization in practice. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Public law 101-477 October 30, 1990: Title I Native American Languages Act. In G. Cantoni (Ed.) Stabilizing indigenous languages (1996). (pp. 69-72). Flagstaff, AZ: Center for Excellence in Education Monograph, Northern Arizona University. Also available at: <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/stablize/ii-policy/nala1990.htm>

Looks at the Native American Languages Act that passed in 1990 and then was amended in 1992. The Act is a policy to preserve, protect, and promote Native American languages. It ensures the right of Native Americans to use and practice their indigenous languages. Although primarily stated as Native Americans, but not leaving out Native Hawaiians, it helps to support Native Hawaiian rights to also promote, preserve and utilize the Hawaiian language.